

118

CA121

-63B500

3 1761 12062200 6

Confidential

Government Publications
Publications

R. FRITH

Volume on the
Federal Capital

Chapters 1, 2 and 6

Draft

July 19, 1967.



Presented to the
LIBRARY *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by

Mr. Royce Frith
Commissioner

Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

ACCOPRESS

GENUINE PRESSBOARD BINDER

CAT. NO. **BG 2507 EMB**

ACCO CANADIAN COMPANY LTD.
TORONTO

OGDENSBURG, N.Y., CHICAGO, LONDON



MEMORANDUM

R. FRITH

CLASSIFICATION

TO
A

Commissioners

CA121

YOUR FILE No.
Votre dossier

-63B500

OUR FILE No.
Notre dossier

FROM
De

K.D. McRae

DATE

July 19, 1967.

SUBJECT
Sujet

Research studies, federal capital project

Please find attached chapters one, two and six of the research volume on the federal capital. As requested by Executive Committee, the individual chapters are being distributed as soon as they may be made ready, and thus are not necessarily in consecutive order. The remainder of the first seven chapters are all near completion and should be ready for distribution shortly.



MEMORANDUM

CLASSIFICATION

TO
A

Members of Executive Committee

CA121

-633500

YOUR FILE No.
Votre dossier

OUR FILE No.
Notre dossier

FROM
De

K.D. McRae

DATE

April 28, 1967.

OLD

SUBJECT
Sujet

Federal Capital Project

You will recall that in February, when the Ontario Minister of Municipal Affairs outlined his Department's plan for metropolitan government in the Ottawa area, it was proposed to the Executive that the Commission should publish a first volume of factual research findings relating to the federal capital as soon as they could be made ready. The purpose was to put the facts about language usage in the capital area before the public in time to be considered before the drafting of Ontario legislation on this subject, presumably towards the end of 1967. This proposal was agreed to in principle by the Executive Committee.

We circulate to you now the first two of the seven chapters for this first volume, preceded by a preface and general table of contents. We hope that in the final version there will be a preface signed by Commissioners; the pages presented here represent a possible outline of what might be appropriate.

It will be noted from the general table of contents that the Introduction is still missing. We feel that in these pages there ought to be some discussion of (1) the territorial considerations that underlie the study, i.e., what geographical area should be taken as comprising the federal capital; and (2) the assumptions that have had to be used in order to formulate the project. This second point has proved difficult to formulate in isolation, and we have postponed its elaboration until the various difficulties can be clarified through discussion.

We very much regret the delay in this first instalment, but Chapter I has proved more complex than was anticipated. Despite the initial delays, four of the five remaining chapters are complete in first draft, and we expect to circulate them fairly soon.

K.D. McRae


FEDERAL CAPITAL PROJECT:

RESEARCH FINDINGS

First instalment

comprising Preface,

Chapters One and Two



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761120622006>

General Table of Contents

Part I

Preface

Introduction

I Federal Capital Area: Land and People

II Provincial Framework

III Municipal Administrations: Ottawa

IV Municipal Administrations: Other Municipalities

V Federal Factor

VI Legal Systems

VII Elected Representation

General Table of Contents (Cont'd)

Part II (Tentative)

VIII Primary Education

IX Secondary and Post-secondary Education

X Cultural Resources

XI Mass Media

XII Business and Professional Worlds

Preface

From its earliest meetings in the autumn of 1963, the Commission has felt the capital of Canada to be one of its prime areas of concern. As the seat of the federal government itself, the City of Ottawa and its vicinity must have a very special role - indeed a symbolic and pathfinding role - in the development of the concept of equal partnership that is enunciated in the Commission's terms of reference.

The Commission's interest in the capital was expressed at its preliminary public hearing in Ottawa on November 7, 1963, and when the research programme was begun systematically in May 1964, one of the first projects to be undertaken was a thorough study of the federal capital area from the standpoint of the Commission's terms of reference. In time this study grew so as to include both the governmental and non-governmental sectors. Special attention was devoted to education, and to the cultural facilities of the area. Some areas, such as municipal government, proved to be more complex than was at first expected. The end result was a study of considerable proportions.

In the meantime, while the study progressed, governmental relations in the area were in a state of flux. In 1964 the Government of Ontario initiated a special commission of inquiry into municipal government and intermunicipal relations in Carleton County. The Jones Commission brought in its final report and recommendations in June, 1965. While its recommendations were not accepted in detail, planning for a new regional government

continued. On February 1, 1967, the Ontario Minister for Municipal Affairs, Mr. J.W. Spooner, presented an official proposal for a new metropolitan form of government for the whole of the Ontario portion of the Ottawa area, suggesting that it be studied by municipal representatives and revised with a view to enactment by the Ontario legislature in 1968.

During the same period another body, the Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation, commissioned Professor D.C. Rowat to prepare an essay on the arguments for and against the establishment of a federal district around the capital. The existence of this study was made known in December 1966, and it served to increase public interest in the prospects for a change of governmental structures in the area.

In the meanwhile, the Quebec side of the capital area has not been inactive. Some form of closer association among the several municipalities there has been discussed intermittently for some time. The discussion occasioned by the Rowat report concerning a federal district aroused interest in the Quebec portion of the capital area as well. In a brief to the Government of Quebec, the Conseil économique régional de l'ouest du Québec has advocated the creation of a Quebec agency to assume for the Quebec portion of the National Capital Region functions now exercised by the federal government through the National Capital Commission.

The end result of these developments in both provinces is difficult to foresee, but major changes in the status of the federal capital area may well be evolving.

The discussion to date, while thorough in some directions, has left certain other major issues virtually untouched. Perhaps because of the provincial boundary, there has been little thought given to the metropolitan area on both sides of the Ottawa River as a single urban complex, even from the standpoint of regional planning. There has been little attention directed towards the interests of the federal government in the area. What has been notably absent from the Jones and Spooner plans in particular has been any consideration of the special linguistic and cultural complexion of the capital area. The Commission's research on the federal capital, on the other hand, has concentrated specifically on these linguistic and cultural dimensions.

The Commission has accordingly decided, in view of the special circumstances, to publish separately and as soon as possible its own two volumes of research findings with respect to the federal capital area, in the hope that they may prove a useful contribution to the 'current public' debate on the governmental structure of the area. This first volume, dealing with governmental and judicial aspects, is perhaps the most topical in the light of current proposals for change. A second volume, dealing with educational and other matters, is to follow as soon as it can be made ready.

The Commission feels that it would be premature to present its recommendations concerning the federal capital in this volume. In the first place, the situation is a complex one, and requires the most careful consideration. Secondly, its proposals concerning the capital should not be made in isolation; they may be better understood when presented in the context of its recommendations

for Canada as a whole. It is therefore intended that the recommendations concerning the future status of the federal capital should be developed in Part of the Final Report.

CHAPTER ONE

The Capital Area:

Land and People

Table of Contents

Section	Page
I Les cadres géographique et politique	1.1
II Patterns of language in the Capital	1.13
III The socio-economic structure	1.28
IV Residential patterns	1.49
V Bilingualism in the federal capital	1.69

Appendices

I Tables A - R	1.85
II Etude de l'influence de certains facteurs sur les disparités des revenus de travail entre britanniques et français, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961	1.112






I Les cadres géographique et politique

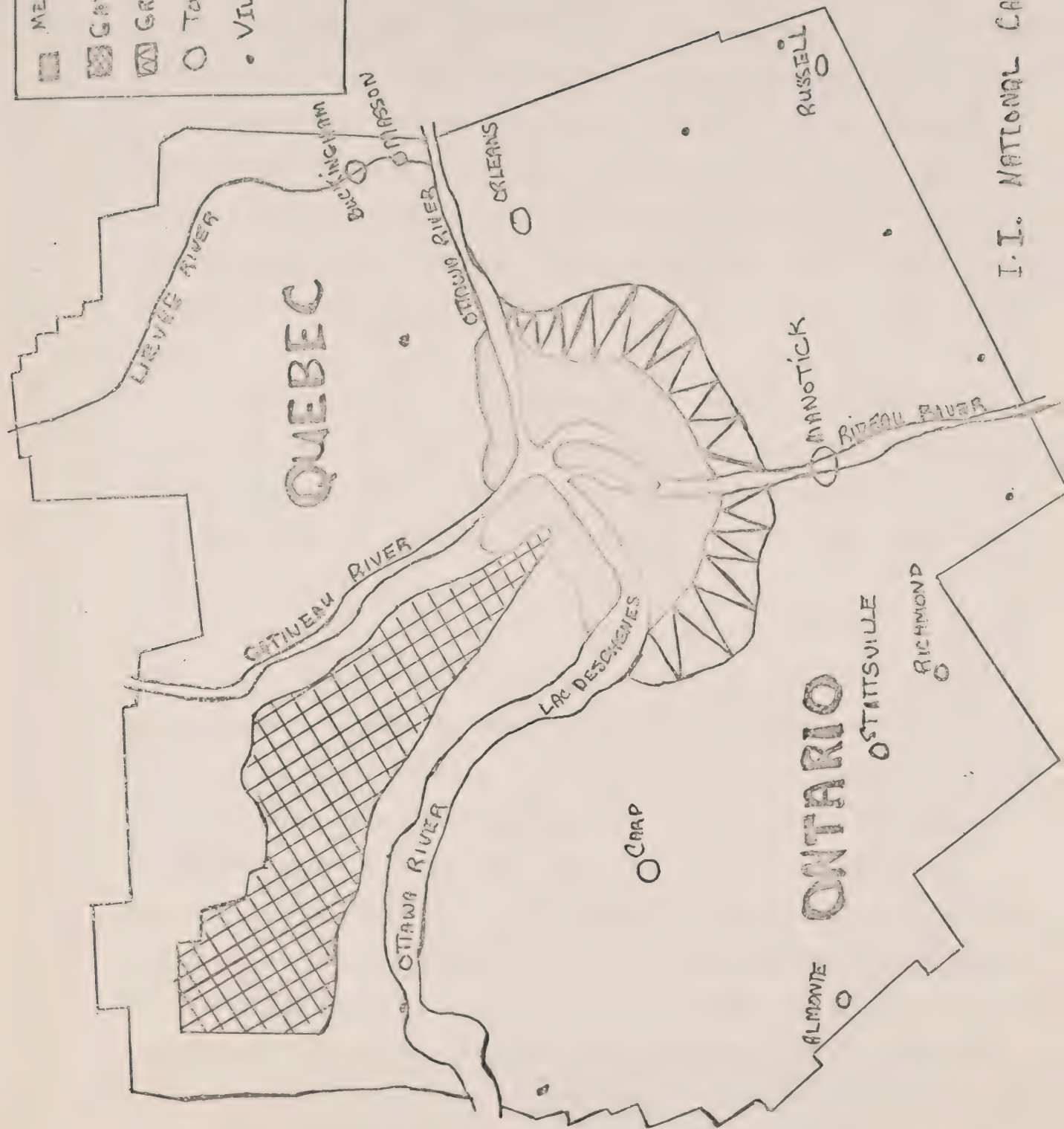
The National Capital Region is situated on both sides of the Ottawa river some 75 miles west of its juncture with the St. Lawrence at Montreal. As may be seen from Map I, the Region is in the shape of an irregular rectangle, dissected in an east-west direction by the Ottawa river and in a north-south direction by the Gatineau and Rideau rivers. These three rivers together form a cross, the juncture of which is more or less the centre of urban development, the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area.

North of the Ottawa river is the province of Quebec, and to its south, the province of Ontario. The Region as a whole is approximately 1,800 square miles in size, of which 1,050 are on the Ontario side, and 750 on the Quebec side. At the census of 1961 the population of the Region was just under half a million, or more specifically, 492,000.

Topographically, the Gatineau Hills are the most prominent landmark of the Region. Pre-Cambrian mountains worn down by glaciers, they form part of the Canadian Shield. The retreat of the glaciers about 10,000 years ago left only a thin layer of soil so that agriculture in the uplands is difficult; the mineral and forestry resources of the Gatineau, however, played a major role in the early economic development of the capital region. Today the uplands are being increasingly utilized for recreational purposes.

The glaciers which wore down the uplands also had the effect of depressing the level of the land so that, after their retreat, the sea covered much of the area up to the Gatineau. When the land rose and the seas retreated, a deep layer of silt, sand and clay was deposited over a bed of sedimentary rocks.

	METROPOLITAN AREA
	GATINEAU (KAN)
	GREEN BELT
	TOWNS
	VILLAGES



I.I. NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

Thus, in contrast to the rugged and picturesque Gatineau Hills, the land to the south and west is gently sloping and suited to agriculture, which takes the form of dairy farming, meat and seed production, and market gardening for local sales. Another economic resource of the low-land area is the building material to be found in the underlying sedimentary rocks. Industry in the capital region tends to be of the type servicing the natural resources of forestry and agriculture (pulp and paper, cement, dairy plants, meat packing, etc.) However, as will be shown later, industry is of secondary importance to government in the economic life of the Region.

In the central urban area of the Region, the variations in altitude are far less pronounced. Rising from the Ottawa river, which below the City of Ottawa is some 135 feet above sea level, the land is gently rolling in character. Most of the urban area, in fact, is below the 300 foot level.

Les seuls obstacles majeurs du terrain au sein du centre urbain de la Région sont les cours d'eau: la rivière Outaouais et ses deux tronçons, la rivière Rideau et la rivière Gatineau, ainsi que le canal Rideau. La rivière Outaouais coule vers l'est et traverse la zone métropolitaine en entier. Elle s'élargit considérablement à Deschênes pour former un lac du même nom, mesurant jusqu'à deux milles de largeur en certains endroits; to the east, it passes through a series of rapids, and then through the Chaudière Falls. Par ailleurs, la rivière Gatineau qui descend des régions boisées au nord, du côté québécois, jette ses eaux dans la rivière Outaouais. A son instar, la rivière Rideau monte des régions plutôt plates et rurales du sud jusqu'à l'Outaouais. Le canal Rideau, construit pour des raisons d'ordre militaire

entre 1827 et 1932, relie en partant de la ville d'Ottawa, la rivière Outaouais à Kingston. Autrefois très importants au point de vue commercial, tous ces cours d'eau servent, aujourd'hui, à la navigation de plaisance pendant la belle saison; il existe encore toutefois un peu de flottage du bois sur l'Outaouais et la Gatineau.

The Ottawa river is clearly a geographic element of major importance both to the Region as a whole and its urban core. The land on either side slopes down toward the river, forming a valley which has been a natural funnel of human settlement. Moreover, it was the existence of the Ottawa as a communication and transportation line, its confluence with the Gatineau and Rideau rivers and the existence of the Chaudière Falls and the various rapids, which constituted the original foundation of urban growth.

Yet paradoxically, if the Ottawa river has been the foundation and focus of development, it also divides the area, both politically and physically. The Ottawa forms the border between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and thus the boundary between two political jurisdictions with differing linguistic, cultural, and legal orientations. This perspective is somewhat blurred by the mixture of English- and French-speaking population which occurs on both sides of the river, but the legal and political systems are separate, and the river's role as a physical barrier is matched by its role as a provincial border.

To consider the geographical side more closely, it is apparent that the Ottawa, together with the Rideau and the Gatineau rivers, form the only natural obstacles to transport and communication in the built up area which, it will be remembered, is relatively flat and regular in topography. If, for instance,

one were to construct an imaginary model of the capital region, and then to remove the Ottawa river from the model, there then seem to exist few significant economic or geographic reasons why the presently asymmetrical pattern of urban development should not have proceeded in a more "rounded" fashion, that is to say, few geographic reasons why the Quebec side should not have developed apace with the Ontario side.

However, the double role of the Ottawa as both a physical and political division seems to have had a certain negative impact on attempts to reduce its divisive effects on transport and communication. In other words, man's attempt to superimpose his own environment on his natural surroundings has, in the case of overcoming the natural obstacle of the Ottawa river, been made more difficult by the river's role as a political boundary. The practical consequences of this may be measured in terms of the bridging facilities available over the three rivers.

En 1966, on calcule quatre ponts avec 14 voies sur la rivière Outaouais. Avant l'ouverture du Pont Cartier-MacDonald le 15 octobre, 1965, il n'existait que huit voies. Par ailleurs la situation est bien différente sur la rivière Rideau. On compte au moins 32 voies réparties entre 9 ponts sur une distance de sept milles, i.e., Rideau Falls à Mooneys Bay. Avec l'avènement du pont Heron Road il existera 4 nouvelles voies. Par ailleurs, sur la rivière Gatineau on relève 3 ponts avec au total 7 voies entre Wakefield et la rivière Outaouais. Relevons en passant que sur la rivière Outaouais dans la direction est, il n'existe pas de pont avant Hawkesbury et dans la direction ouest, avant Chenaux, that is, for 55 and 50 miles respectively.

Ces voies de circulation en plus d'être nécessaires à l'expansion urbaine du territoire sont aussi nécessaires au développement social et économique de cette zone métropolitaine et à l'intégration de ses différentes parties. While many factors have contributed to the unequal development of the two provincial components of the metropolitan area referred to earlier, the paucity of bridge connections between Ontario and Quebec, in comparison with those over the Rideau, for instance, has undoubtedly played its part. For, while the Rideau has long since ceased to represent an obstacle to the flow of population, the Ottawa river, on the other hand, has remained both a political and a physical limitation on the normal growth pattern of the urban area.

Municipalités. The National Capital Region is a complex of interlocking governmental jurisdictions, ranging from the federal and provincial levels to some 70-odd jurisdictions on the level of local government.

The first settlement in the area was on the north shore of the Ottawa river. What is now the City of Hull began as a predominantly English-speaking Protestant community, but by the time of Confederation the French-speaking Catholic element was strong. In 1875 the settlement was incorporated as a city. Ottawa traces its origins to what began as two separate villages, Upper Town (along the Ottawa, west of Rideau Canal) and Lower Town (east of the canal), the latter having a more French-speaking orientation than the former. The two villages grew together, and the two became known in 1827 as Bytown, which was then incorporated as a town in 1850, and as the City of Ottawa in 1855.

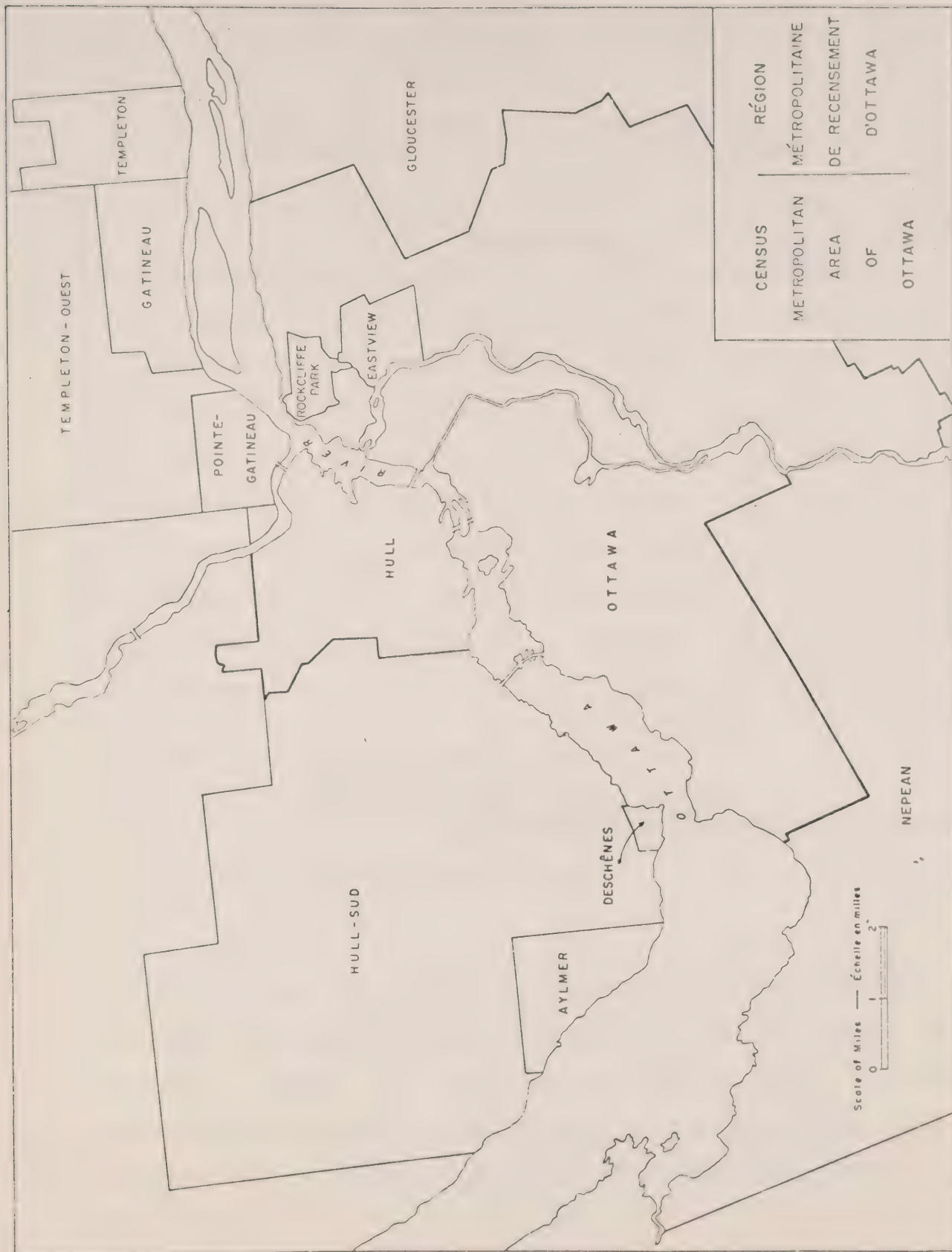
The City of Ottawa now covers a territory of over 30,000 acres (larger than the area of the City of Toronto), bordered on the south, east and west either directly by the Federally-owned Greenbelt (a zone limited to non-urban land use) or by buffer zones of suburban developments in Nepean and Gloucester townships both of which are of mixed rural-urban character. In the northeast corner of Ottawa, within the City boundaries, are the autonomous municipalities of the City of Eastview and the Village of Rockcliffe Park.

On the north shore of the Ottawa river, the City of Hull, whose trend of development has been northward, is flanked on the east bank of the Gatineau river by Pointe-Gatineau, Gatineau and Templeton. To the west lie Lucerne (formerly Hull South), a large mixed rural-urban area, the village of Deschênes, and the town of Aylmer, an older, independent community now merging with the growing suburban development to its east.

The metropolitan area of Ottawa, which is a concept developed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to embrace all the parts of a contiguous urban area in close economic, geographic and social relationship with each other, included at the 1961 census some 13 separate municipalities, of which 8 are on the Quebec side and 5 on the Ontario side (see Map 1.2). At that time the population of the census metropolitan area was 429,750, or about 87 per cent of the total population of the National Capital Region. By the 1966 census this figure had grown to 489,392.

The Ottawa area, like other large centres in Canada, reflects the rapid urbanization of Canada in recent years. It not only ranks fifth highest in population among the major Canadian metropolitan areas, but as will be seen in Table 1.1, its growth

MAP 12



rate over the past 15 years is the fourth highest. Between 1951 and 1966 its population increased by 67.5 per cent.

Table 1.1

Population growth of the nine largest metropolitan areas in Canada, 1951-1966

Metropolitan Area	Population		Percentage Increase
	1951	1966*	
1. Calgary	142,315	328,258	130.9
2. Edmonton	176,782	398,587	125.5
3. Toronto	1,210,353	2,145,637	77.3
4. Ottawa	292,476	489,392	67.5
5. Montréal	1,471,851	2,418,984	64.3
6. Hamilton	280,293	447,197	59.6
7. Vancouver	561,960	884,095	57.3
8. Québec	276,242	407,731	47.5
9. Winnipeg	356,813	505,255	41.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1961
 Catalogue: 92-535
 Bulletin: 1.1-6, Table 10; and
 preliminary 1966 census compilations

* 1966 figures are provisional.

The rapid growth of the population has not, however, proceeded in an even fashion throughout the capital area. As indicated by Table 1.2, the urban core (Ottawa, Hull, Eastview) has been accounting for a diminishing percentage of the total metropolitan area population. Relatively speaking, these

Tableau 1.2

Distribution de la population dans
la zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa
1961 et 1966

Municipalités	Population 1961		Population 1966	
	N	%	N	%
Total	429,750	100.0	489,392	100.0
Ottawa	268,206	62.4	288,735	59.0
Eastview	24,555	5.7	24,047	4.9
Nepean	19,753	4.6	43,420	8.9
Gloucester	18,301	4.3	23,002	4.7
Rockcliffe Park	2,084	0.5	2,155	0.4
Hull	56,929	13.2	58,902	12.0
Gatineau	13,022	3.0	17,434	3.6
Pointe-Gatineau	8,854	2.1	10,903	2.2
Aylmer	6,286	1.5	7,150	1.5
Lucerne	5,762	1.3	8,042	1.6
Templeton	2,965	0.7	3,219	0.7
Deschênes	2,090	0.5	1,772	0.4
Templeton ouest	943	0.2	611	0.1
Total Ontario	332,899	77.5	381,359	77.9
Total Québec	96,851	22.5	108,033	22.1

Source: pour 1961: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 95-528
Bulletin: CT-13 "Ottawa"

pour 1966: Recensement intercensaire, 1966,
premières compilations;
statistiques finales prêtes dans
deux mois (6/2/67)

municipalities are already highly developed (see Table 1.3), and thus their prospects for expansion are limited. Because of their restricted territory, Aylmer and Deschênes are faced with more or less the same situation. In contrast, the outlying, mixed urban-rural areas of Nepean and Gloucester townships in Ontario, and Lucerne and the area east of the Gatineau river on the Quebec side are expanding rapidly. Nepean, for instance, more than doubled its population between 1961 and 1966, and yet still has a low density of population in comparison with most of the other 13 municipalities.

It seems likely that a high growth rate for the metropolitan area will continue in the future. Population projection figures provided by the National Capital Commission forecast that, by the year 2001, the City of Ottawa and those parts of Nepean and Gloucester township inside the Greenbelt, will have a population of over 540,000. The area west of the Greenbelt will house some 180,000 persons; south of the Greenbelt 120,000; and east of the Greenbelt 65,000. The area of the north shore west of the Gatineau river will have a projected population of 160,000; and the area east of the Gatineau river 115,000. The projected total for the entire metropolitan area for the year 2001 is 1,180,000, of whom, by this projection, some 275,000 or 23 per cent would live on the north side of the Ottawa river.¹

1. Source: Statistical Review with explanatory notes: National Capital Region. Technical Co-ordinating Committee and Land Use Sub-Committee, Ottawa/Hull Area Transportation Study and the National Capital Commission.

Tableau 1.3

Distribution de la population par milles carrés
dans les municipalités de la zone métropolitaine
d'Ottawa, 1961 et 1966

Municipalités	1961		1966*	
	superficie en milles carrés	distribution de la pop.par mille carré	superficie en milles carrés	distribution de la pop.par mille carré
Ottawa	45.44	5,902	45.44	6,754
Eastview	1.15	21,352	1.15	20,910
Nepean	85.84	230	85.84	506
Gloucester	115.63	158	115.63	199
Rockcliffe Park	0.67	3,110	0.67	3,216
Sous-total Ont.	248.73	1,338	248.73	1,533
Hull	6.81	8,359	x 8.67	6,794
Gatineau	3.72	3,500	x 6.47	2,697
Pointe-Gatineau	1.76	5,030	1.76	6,195
Aylmer	2.24	2,806	2.24	3,192
Lucerne	35.97	160	x33.90	237
Templeton	2.91	1,018	2.91	1,106
Deschênes	0.28	7,464	0.28	6,329
Templeton ouest	32.60	28	x29.87	21
Sous-total Qué.	86.29	1,222	86.10	1,255
Total	335.02	1,282	334.83	1,462

Source: Préparé au moyen d'un planimètre par la BFS,
section du Recensement, le 7 février, 1967,
et le recensement intercensaire, 1966,
premières compilations.

* premières compilations statistiques finales prêtes
dans deux mois (6/2/67).

"x" indicates change in area in 1966.

11. Patterns of language in the Capital

To investigate the linguistic and cultural orientation of the population of the federal capital area is to raise some rather subtle problems. A man may be fully bilingual in French and English for all practical purposes, yet he may lean strongly towards one or the other in terms of his own personal cultural preferences. It is not our purpose here to probe the complex inter-relationships between language, culture, and ethnic affiliation. These questions will doubtless be explored in other aspects of the Commission's work. Our present aim is simply to sketch the broad linguistic and cultural pattern of the population in the federal capital area.

For this purpose three indicators are offered by the Census of Canada: mother tongue, ethnic origin and official language. In the census mother tongue is defined as the language first learned in childhood and still understood. This factor offers us the best guide that we have as to the extent to which various languages are presently spoken, though actually it measures childhood behaviour rather than current usage. Ethnic origin is determined by the ethnic or cultural affiliation of the respondent or his paternal ancestor on first coming to North America. While this variable is less valuable than mother tongue in determining current practice, it does offer certain evidence as to language usage over a longer period of time and language retention or transfer. The census classification of official language refers to the ability to speak one or both of the official languages of Canada. The significance of this variable for our purposes is that it indicates both the extent of official bilingualism¹ and the tendencies towards use of one or the other

1. For which, see Section V of this chapter.

official languages in the public sector, especially among those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French.

La langue maternelle. The main features of mother tongue distribution in the larger cities and in Canada as a whole are indicated in Table ~~2.1~~^{1.4}. If we compare the Ottawa metropolitan area

Tableau ~~2.1~~ 1.4

Distribution procentuelle de la population du Canada et des principales zones métropolitaines par langue maternelle, 1961 (population de 200,000 ou plus) 1

Régions	Population	Langue maternelle		
		anglais	français	autres
		%	%	%
Canada	100.0	58.4	28.1	13.5
Ottawa	100.0	55.7	37.7	6.6
Montréal	100.0	23.4	64.8	11.8
Toronto	100.0	76.6	1.4	22.0
Vancouver	100.0	82.0	1.7	16.3
Winnipeg	100.0	67.9	5.9	26.2
Hamilton	100.0	80.0	1.5	18.5
Québec	100.0	3.8	95.4	0.8
Edmonton	100.0	71.9	3.3	24.8
Calgary	100.0	82.1	1.3	16.6

1. Source: Calculé d'après tableau A, Appendice I.

with the pattern for Canada as a whole, it will be noticed that the Ottawa area figures fall relatively close to the national average. At 55.7 per cent of the population, those speaking English are just slightly under the Canadian average (58.4). The French-speaking

population of the metropolitan area accounts for 37.7 per cent of the total, rather higher than the national average of 28.1 per cent. Other languages are spoken in the Ottawa area by 6.6 per cent of the population, as compared with the average for Canada of 13.5 per cent. The over-representation of the French-speaking population in the Ottawa metropolitan area should be noted. In terms of numerical proportions, the federal capital area comes considerably closer to a balance between the French- and English-speaking groups than does Canada as a whole.

If the Ottawa figures are compared with those for other major urban centres, as shown in Table ~~2.1~~^{1.4}, it will be seen that even a partial balance between the official language groups is a rare thing. Only Montreal, among the cities of over 200,000 in population, even approximates the balance found in Ottawa, though in this case the French-speaking population is the more numerous. The rest of Canada's major cities are either predominantly English-speaking or, in the case of Quebec City, overwhelmingly French-speaking.

Even among the medium-sized and smaller cities in Canada, relatively few have a close balance of English-speaking and French-speaking population. Thus measuring by mother tongue, Sudbury (population 80,120) was 49.7 per cent English-speaking and 30.7 per cent French-speaking in 1961, the rest of the population having other mother tongues. Timmins (40,121) was 46.2 per cent English-speaking and 34.3 per cent French-speaking. Cornwall (43,639) had 54.8 per cent and 42.4 per cent respectively. Moncton (55,768) had 66.2 per cent and 32.5 per cent respectively. It will be noticed that all these examples are situated within the relatively bilingual area that constitutes a loosely defined linguistic boundary between the parts

of Canada that are predominantly English-speaking or predominantly French-speaking. Both Ottawa and Montreal fall within the same bilingual belt. Outside this bilingual area few major cities come close to a balance between the official language groups. Thus in Windsor only 10.3 per cent of the population is of French mother tongue, while in Sherbrooke only 10.5 per cent is of English mother tongue.

As noted above, a rather low proportion of the population of the Ottawa area has a mother tongue other than English or French. But for individual languages the pattern is rather uneven. Table ^{1.5}~~2.2~~ shows the distribution of the eleven largest language groups by mother tongue in Canada in 1961 and their corresponding figures for the Ottawa metropolitan area. It will be seen that a language, such

Tableau ^{1.5}~~2.2~~

Distribution procentuelle de la population par
langue maternelle, Canada et zone métropolitaine 1
d'Ottawa, 1961

Langue maternelle	Canada	Z.M. d'Ottawa
Total	100.0	100.0
Anglais	58.5	55.7
Français	28.1	37.7
Allemand	3.1	1.4
Ukrainien	2.0	0.4
Italien	1.9	1.6
Hollandais	0.9	0.6
Indien et Esquimau	0.9	0.02
Polonais	0.9	0.5
Scandinave	0.6	0.2
Magyar	0.5	0.2
Yiddish	0.4	0.3
Autres	2.2	1.4

1. Calculé d'après Tableau B, Appendice I.

as Italian, more frequently heard in urban rather than rural areas, is as strong in the Ottawa area as in the country at large. Other languages, such as Ukrainian, or the Indian and Eskimo languages, are spoken by relatively small numbers, and several others, including German, the Scandinavian languages, and Magyar, are well below their proportions for Canada as a whole. As a result Italian is the third-ranking language of the Ottawa area, both absolutely and in percentage terms, but for every person of Italian mother tongue there are 24 who have French and 36 who have English.

When one passes from the Ottawa metropolitan area as a whole to an analysis of its two provincial components, separately, the element of linguistic balance is sharply reduced. The following diagram will illustrate the distribution of each language group on either side of the provincial boundary:

Diagram 1

Distribution de la population par langue maternelle,
côté ontarien et côté québécois de la zone
métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

1

	Ontario	Quebec	
English	***** ***** ***** ***** ***** ***** ***** 52.6% ***** ***** ***** ***** ***** ***** ***** ***** *	***** ***** ***** * 3.1%	55.7%
French	***** ***** ***** ***** ***** 18.6% ***** ***** ***** *****	***** ***** ***** ***** ***** 19.1% ***** ***** ***** ***** *	37.7%
Other	***** ***** ***** 6.2% ***** ***** **	** 0.4%	6.6%
	77.5%	22.5%	100.0%

Every * represents 1,000 persons

1. Calculé d'après Tableau C, Appendice I.

As indicated earlier, just over three quarters of the total metropolitan population live on the Ontario side. Of the English-speaking group, roughly one person in twenty lives on the Quebec side. The French-speaking population, however, is divided almost exactly in equal proportions by the provincial boundary. When measured by mother tongue, some 50.6 per cent live on the Quebec side while 49.4 per cent live in Ontario. If, however, we measure by the alternate criterion of French ethnic origin, we find that the majority (53.2 per cent) live on the Ontario side.¹ As a result one half of the French community in the capital area is in certain respects oriented towards Quebec, while the other half is similarly oriented towards Ontario.

When viewed from the standpoint of each province separately, therefore, each sector of the federal capital area shows a fairly marked predominance of one language or the other. Thus approximately five out of every six persons on the Quebec side are of French mother tongue, while approximately two out of every three persons on the Ontario side are of English mother tongue. In both sectors the numerical importance of the predominant language group is reinforced by the linguistic composition of the province as a whole.

However, when one looks at individual municipalities, the picture must be qualified still further. At the 1961 census, the City of Eastview in Ontario had a French-speaking majority of 61.0 per cent, while Lucerne (formerly Hull South) on the Quebec side had an English-speaking majority of 52.2 per cent. These are the limiting

1. This discrepancy between mother tongue and ethnic origin will be examined later. See below p. 21 *et seq.*

cases, but some of the other metropolitan area municipalities also had quite a substantial representation of the other official language group. The Township of Gloucester in Ontario, for example, was 39.6 per cent French by mother tongue; the town of Aylmer in Quebec was 41.3 per cent English by mother tongue. Nor should we forget the City of Ottawa itself which was 21.2 per cent French by mother tongue. Ottawa is the largest of the area municipalities, and in absolute numbers its population of French mother tongue is the largest concentration of French-speaking people of any municipality in the area.¹

If we pause to emphasize these variations from one part of the metropolitan area to another, it is to make clear the rather important implications of the choice of territory which is being considered as the capital area. As the figures in Table ~~2-3~~^{1.6} indicate, the imbalance between the French-speaking and English-speaking populations is smallest for the metropolitan area as a whole, including both the Quebec and the Ontario sectors; it widens very considerably when the Ontario portion alone is considered, and becomes wider still within the City of Ottawa alone.² The population on the Quebec side therefore must be considered a significant demographic factor in the linguistic structure of the federal capital area. Its effect is to increase the relative population of French mother tongue from about one out of five in the City of Ottawa to three out of eight in the wider urban community.

1. For the detailed distribution by municipalities, see Appendix I, Tables D.1 and D.2.

2. The recent proposal by the Ontario government for an Ottawa metropolitan government would include all of Carleton County (population 352,932) and the Township of Cumberland (population 5,478) in Russell County. In 1961 the proportions by mother tongue within this area were 68.7 per cent English, 23.4 per cent French and 7.9 per cent other languages. Information supplied by D.E.S.

1.6
Tableau ~~2.3~~

Distribution procentuelle de la population
par langue maternelle, zone métropolitaine
d'Ottawa, 1961

Régions	Population	Langue maternelle		
		anglais	français	autres
Zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa	429,750 100.0	55.7	37.7	6.6
Côté ontarien (Ottawa, Eastview, Gloucester, Nepean, Rockcliffe Park)	332,899 100.0	67.8	24.1	8.1
Ville d'Ottawa	268,206 100.0	70.1	21.2	8.7

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9.

Ethnic origin. While the data on mother tongues offer perhaps the most direct evidence that the census can provide as to current language usage, some further insight can be gained by the use of data on ethnic origin.' From these we can make inferences about language usage in the past, and when combined with the mother tongue variable we can measure in approximate terms the degree of maintenance of an original language presumably corresponding to ethnic origin, or, as the case may be, the degree of transfer to another language. This also enables us to gauge the relative pull towards one language or another in areas where two or more languages are currently in use.

1.7

Table ~~2.4~~, then, presents an overall comparison of mother tongue and ethnic origin, in order to show the net gains and losses of the English, French and all other languages in relation to population figures by ethnic origin. Such a measure can only be a rough approximation. It does show, however, that for the metropolitan area

as a whole the population is 55.7 per cent of English mother tongue, but only 44.0 per cent British by origin. Conversely, 37.7 per cent of the population is French by mother tongue, but a larger number, 40.8 per cent, are of French origin. The highest rate of change is found among the other groups, who account for 15.2 per cent of the population by origin but only 6.6 per cent by mother tongue. As the table shows, the tendencies for the metropolitan area as a whole are reflected in both Ottawa and Eastview. Hull is slightly different in that both English and French show a net gain at the expense of other languages.

1.7
Tableau 2.4

Distribution procentuelle de la population
par origine ethnique et langue maternelle,
zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Municipalités	Population Totale	O.E. Britannique	L.M. Anglais	O.E. Française	L.M. Français	O.E. Autres	L.M. Autre
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Zone métropolitaine	100.0	44.0	55.7	40.8	37.7	15.2	6.6
Ottawa	100.0	55.2	70.1	25.5	21.2	19.2	8.7
Hull	100.0	7.8	8.2	89.4	90.2	2.8	1.6
Eastview	100.0	26.4	34.0	63.3	61.0	10.3	5.0

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-545 et 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-5 et 1.2-9

Analysis of the data on mother tongue and ethnic origin points towards two broad trends in language behaviour. First, there is a fairly strong tendency for those of non-British, non-French origin to adopt one of the official languages - in this case usually English - as mother tongue. Second, as some further analysis will show, there

is some tendency for those of one official language to have the other as mother tongue where the latter predominates in the community.

In the Ottawa area, residents of other origins tend to a very strong degree, to adopt English rather than French in making a transfer to one of the official languages. The distribution of mother tongues for the groups of non-British, non-French origin is given in Table J of Appendix I. It shows that ^{more than half those of German origin} (57.4 per cent) now have English as mother tongue, while only 3.5 per cent of this group have French as their mother tongue. Almost all of the remainder (38.4 per cent) retain German as mother tongue. Perhaps a more interesting example is the group of Italian origin: 24.5 per cent of those of Italian origin in the Ottawa area now report English as their mother tongue, against only 3.6 per cent reporting French. In Montreal, by comparison, the relative pull of French is perceptibly stronger, for there, 12.0 per cent of the Italians report French as mother tongue as against 5.6 per cent who report English as mother tongue.

However, it is the census data on official languages which give us the clearest view of the linguistic orientation of the population of non-French, non-British origin. In Table E of Appendix I it will be seen that all those of other than French or British origin tend strongly to have a knowledge of English only as their predominant pattern of official language. The proportions range from 63 per cent to over 90 per cent. For all origins the percentage of the group knowing French only is of the order of 3 per cent or less. It should perhaps be noted that ~~well over~~

94.7 per cent of the people of non-British, non-French origin live on the Ontario side, a predominantly English-speaking sector.

If we examine more closely the mother tongue data for those of British and French ethnic origin, a second question that emerges is the incidence of transfers from one official language to the other. Table F in Appendix I suggests that for the metropolitan area as a whole there is a net language transfer from French to English. Specifically, 11.9 per cent of those of French origin have English as mother tongue, while 2.3 per cent of those of British origin have French as mother tongue.

But the interesting phenomenon to be observed from Table F is that the pattern seems to differ as between Ottawa and Hull. In the City of Ottawa 22.1 per cent of those of French origin reported English as mother tongue, while those of British origin who have adopted French as mother tongue are almost insignificant (1.4 per cent). In the City of Hull, on the other hand, the proportions are almost exactly reversed. Some 25.2 per cent of the population of British origin recorded French as their mother tongue, while only 1.8 per cent of those of French origin have English as mother tongue. This census gives no indication as to when the transfer took place. It may be concluded that the rate of transfer from the minority to the majority language in each city is very closely comparable. What accounts for the net transfer from French to English in the metropolitan area as a whole is the fact that the population of British origin in Hull is very small in absolute numbers in comparison with the population of French origin in the City of Ottawa.

The historical pattern of language usage in the Ottawa area should also be mentioned, for it must be remembered that both languages have long been spoken in the Ottawa Valley. Since figures for mother tongue are available only since 1931, for earlier years, it is necessary to rely upon data on ethnic origin. But it seems reasonable to assume a fairly close correlation between language and origin for the early period at least.

Tables G and H in Appendix I give for Ottawa and Hull respectively the ethnic distribution of the population in the period since Confederation. In Ottawa, the population of British origin fluctuated at or just above the 60 per cent mark from 1871 to 1951. During the same time those of French origin remained fairly close to 30 per cent of the population, a little higher during the 19th century, a little lower in the period after 1921.

La population d'origine autre que britannique ou française, depuis 1911, s'est maintenue aux environs de 8 pourcent. Mais au recensement de 1961, ces proportions ont considérablement changées. Dû sans doute à la forte poussée d'immigration dans la région depuis 1945, la proportion de la population d'origine non-britannique ou française est passée de 8 pourcent en 1941 à 19 pourcent en 1961. En conséquence, les groupes d'origine britannique et française ont diminué proportionnellement.

Dans la cité de Hull on constate une situation semblable quant à la présence soutenue des deux groupes principaux. Depuis 1881, la population d'origine britannique a varié entre 6 et 13 pourcent du total; celle d'origine française entre 86 pourcent et 93 pourcent.

La proportion de la population d'autres origines a toujours été faible. De 1 pourcent qu'elle était en 1881, elle s'élevait à 2.8 pourcent en 1961.

For the urban area as a whole, the changing proportions of the various language groups over time are difficult to calculate. The concept of a census metropolitan area dates back to 1941 only. Its boundaries have been changed from census to census. Where in 1941 it encompassed 7 municipalities, the metro area is now composed, as we have seen, of 13 municipalities. Nevertheless Table ^{1.8}~~2.5~~ shows the general pattern for the metropolitan area since 1941. In this period the population of French origin has remained relatively stable. The proportion of those of non-French, non-British origins has more than doubled, while those of British origin have fallen by about the same percentage.

En résumé, retenons la position intéressante de la zone métropolitaine quant à ses proportions linguistiques, la présence continue des deux groupes ethniques principaux dans la région depuis le 19ième siècle jusqu'à nos jours et la montée récente des personnes d'origine ethnique non-britannique ou française ainsi que leur tendance marquée à adopter l'anglais plutôt que le français comme langue officielle.

1.8
Tableau ~~2.5~~

Distribution de la population par origine
ethnique dans la zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1
1941, 1951, 1961

Années	Population	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
1941	215,022	110,089	90,310	14,623
%	100.0	51.1	42.0	6.9
1951	281,908	135,243	121,680	24,985
%	100.0	48.0	43.1	8.9
1961	429,750	189,227	175,374	65,143
%	100.0	44.0	40.8	15.2

1. Source: Recensement du Canada 1941
Volume II
Tableau 33

Recensement du Canada 1951
Volume I
Tableau 36

Recensement du Canada 1961
Catalogue: 92-545
Bulletin: 1.2-5

The socio-economic structure

The labour force of the Ottawa metropolitan area possesses certain distinctive features, which are related to some extent to the area's special position as the federal capital. Most obviously, the public administration sector is by far the largest component of the work force, accounting for more than twice as many employees as any other sector.

Comparative figures for Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal which illustrate the predominance of public administration in the area are given in Table ^{1.9} ~~3-1~~ ¹. It will be noted that the public

^{1.9}
Tableau ~~3-1~~.

Répartition procentuelle de la main-d'oeuvre masculine
selon les industries, zones métropolitaines d'Ottawa,
Toronto et Montréal, 1961

Industrie	Ottawa	Toronto	Montréal
N	105,046	512,265	543,512
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Adm. publique	33.9	6.0	6.3
Ind. manufacturière	14.0	32.8	33.2
Construction	10.3	9.4	10.0
Transport et comm.	8.7	10.8	13.7
Commerce	14.9	18.6	17.1
Finance	3.7	5.2	4.5
Services	12.0	14.3	13.0
Non-spécifiées	2.0	.7	0.6
Ind. primaires	.6	2.3	1.8

Source: A. Raynauld, G. Marion, R. Béland, La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada (Division VI, Rapport 2, 1966). Appendice statistique, tableaux 46, 52, 64.

1. Sauf indications contraires, les statistiques dans cette section ont été calculées à partir d'un échantillon de 20%, i.e., les statistiques tirées de Raynauld ainsi que les ~~Données~~ préparées par le Bureau Fédéral de la statistique pour la Commission. Notez aussi que la catégorie "Industries primaires" comprend les industries autres que l'agriculture.

administration sector is of enormously greater significance in the capital, accounting for more than five times the proportion of male workers to be found in this sector in either Montreal or Toronto. But this is counterbalanced primarily by a far lower percentage within the manufacturing industry in Ottawa, and to a lesser extent by a somewhat lesser emphasis on commerce, finance, transport and communication, and primary industry.

Table ^{1.10} ~~3-2~~, using a slightly different information base, gives for the total labour force (both male and female) a comparison of

Tableau ^{1.10} ~~3-2~~

Répartition procentuelle de la main-d'oeuvre totale
agée de 15 ans et plus selon l'industrie, 1961

Industrie	Zone métro- politaine	Ottawa*	Hull*	Eastview*	Catineau*
Total N	167,712	111,124	20,867	9,911	3,935
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Adm. publique					
fédérale	30.7	33.2	21.0	32.9	11.0
provinciale	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.1
municipale	2.0	2.3	2.0	1.1	2.2
diplomate	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.3	-
Ind.manufacturière	10.6	8.2	17.5	7.5	38.6
Construction	7.0	5.7	9.9	7.6	11.5
Transport et comm.	6.8	6.8	6.9	7.9	4.4
Commerce	13.6	13.2	15.2	16.0	13.1
Finance	4.5	4.9	3.0	5.5	2.1
Services	20.6	21.8	20.6	17.3	14.6
Autres**	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.6	2.5

Source: Recensement du Canada 1961; Catalogue: 94-519 et 94-521;
Bulletin: 3.2-2, 3 et 4.

* renseignements disponibles pour ces villes seulement.

** comprend: agriculture, forestage, pêche et trappage, mines et autres

the economic structure in four municipalities of the Ottawa metropolitan area. The first point to be made is that within the public administration sector, it is the federal government that is predominant; in all four municipalities the municipal and provincial components are relatively small. It will be noticed that both in Ottawa and Eastview roughly one in every three members of the total labour force is a federal employee. In Hull this figure drops to about one out of five, and in Gatineau to one out of nine. Correspondingly the proportion of the work force employed in manufacturing is lower in both Ottawa and Eastview than for the area as a whole. In Hull the proportion rises to 17.5 per cent, and in Gatineau it soars to 38.6 per cent.

By comparison with other major metropolitan areas, then, the federal capital is to a very considerable extent a civil service centre, in the sense that its economic structure is highly dependent on the federal government, although this applies to the Ontario municipalities of Ottawa and Eastview to a greater degree than to Hull and Gatineau. Since many employees in other sectors of the economy are engaged in supplying goods and services to federal employees, the degree of dependence on the federal government is actually far higher than the direct employment figures indicate.

Our basic aim in this section is to understand the position in the economic structure occupied by the French-speaking and English speaking populations, as well as by those speaking other languages. Most of the available economic and income data based on the census, however, are classified on a basis of ethnicity rather than mother tongue, and we shall have to use this measure for want of a more accurate indicator of language usage.

The labour force. The total labour force in the Ottawa metropolitan area, according to the 1961 census, comprised 155,643 persons,¹ or approximately one out of three members of the total population. Of this number, some 67.5 per cent were males, the rest females. Table ~~3.3~~^{1.1} shows that the breakdown by ethnic origin of this group was as follows:

^{1.1}
Table ~~3.3~~

Total population and labour force by ethnic origin, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	Total		Ethnic origin		
	N	%	British %	French %	Others %
Total population	429,750	100	44.0	40.8	15.2
Total labour force	155,643	100	45.0	38.5	16.5
Male labour force	105,046	100	43.8	39.2	17.1
Female labour force	50,597	100	47.7	37.1	15.2

Source: Tabulations based on the 1961 Census, prepared by The Dominion Bureau of Statistics for The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Tape 3, Table 8, Part I, pp. 34-36.

It will be seen from this table that in comparison with the population as a whole, those of French origin are under-represented in the labour force, and this under-representation is more pronounced in the female sector than for males. Whether it is due to differences between groups as to age structure, or levels of unemployment, or other reasons, cannot be examined here. We should note, however,

^{1.} The figure given is ^{from} Tape 3. A difference in the definition of the labour force accounts for the discrepancy between this figure and that given in Table 3.2, which was based on D.B.S. Bulletin 94-519.

that the percentage of each group that is active in the labour force is the first factor that will have some bearing on the economic status of the group.

The average wage and salary income for members of the labour force classified by ethnic origin for three metropolitan areas is given in Table ^{1.12} ~~3.4~~. It will be seen at once from this table that the discrepancies in average incomes received by males and females

^{1.12}
Tableau ~~3.4~~

Revenu moyen de travail de la main-d'oeuvre pour
l'ensemble des industries par origine ethnique,
zones métropolitaines d'Ottawa, Toronto et
Montréal, 1961

A. Hommes*

Zone métropolitaine	Origine ethnique			
	Total	Britannique	Française	Autres
Ottawa	\$4,785	\$5,504	\$4,008	\$4,714
Montréal	4,448	5,896	3,998	4,502
Toronto	4,812	5,261	4,168	4,164

B. Femmes**

	Total	Britannique	Française	Autres
Ottawa	\$2,447	\$2,731	\$2,155	\$2,253
Montréal	2,255	2,690	2,158	2,092
Toronto	2,340	2,488	2,224	2,079

Sources: * A. Raynauld et al. La répartition des revenus...,
Appendice statistique, tableaux 42, 48, 60.

** Tape 3, Table 8, Part I, p. 35 (Ottawa), p. 17
(Montreal), p. 53 (Toronto).

respectively are strikingly wider than discrepancies between ethnic groups. Hence a cause of differences in economic status could possibly be the different proportions of males to females active in

the labour force from one group to another. In fact, the differences that exist in this respect are very slight, and such as they are they point in the opposite direction. Thus, the group with the highest average income, the British, also has the highest percentage of females, 34.4 per cent, as against the comparable figures for the labour force of French and other origins of 31.4 and 30.0 per cent respectively.¹ However, the analysis of incomes of the female work force raises certain special difficulties, and the remainder of this section will attempt to describe and analyze for the male labour market alone some of the further factors that contribute to income discrepancies in the Ottawa metropolitan area. At least four further factors may be identified and their effects measured as revealed by the census data. We shall thus examine in turn industrial structure, educational level, occupational category, and age structure.

Industrial structure. We have already noted that the structure of the labour market in the capital area is substantially different from that of Montreal and Toronto in its emphasis on the public administration sector. Further analysis of the Ottawa data will show that those of British origin are considerably over-represented in this sector,¹ while the proportions for those of French and other origins are somewhat lower.

^{1.13}
Table ~~3.5~~ shows the relative representation of each group in each major industrial sector. When compared against the structure of the labour market as a whole, those of British origin are considerably over-represented in public administration and finance, and represented below the average in manufacturing and construction. Those of French origin are correspondingly under-represented in public administration and finance, but over-represented in manufacturing and construction. Those of non-French, non-British origin

1. Source: Page 3, Table 8, Part I, pp. 34, 35.

are considerably over-represented in construction, service industries, and primary industry, but under-represented in transport and communication, finance, and public administration.

1.13
Tableau ~~3.5~~

Répartition procentuelle de la main-d'oeuvre masculine de chaque groupe ethnique selon les industries, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Industrie	Total	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
Total N	105,046	45,988	41,111	17,947
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Adm. publique	33.9	43.3	26.2	27.5
Ind. manufacturière	14.0	10.9	18.1	12.7
Construction	10.3	5.7	13.2	15.7
Transport et comm.	8.7	9.3	9.6	5.2
Commerce	14.9	12.7	16.4	16.9
Finance	3.7	4.7	2.9	2.8
Services	12.0	11.0	11.3	16.1
Non-spécifiées	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.3
Ind. primaires	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.9

Source: A. Raynauld et al. La répartition des revenus..., Appendice statistique, tableaux 51 et 52.

These variations in the representation of each group from one sector to another suggest a further possible cause of income differentials: a group that is more concentrated in a well paid sector will tend to have a higher average income than one which is concentrated in a sector that pays less well. In Table ^{1.14}~~3.6~~ we have set out the average incomes received in each industrial sector for

all males and for males of British, French and other origins respectively. This table shows that the areas where we have noted over-representation of those of British origin (public administration and finance) yield incomes above the average for all sectors; the construction sector, on the other hand, where those of French and other origins are over-represented, pays average wages and salaries more than \$1000 below the average level for all sectors.

1.14
Tableau ~~3.6~~

Revenu moyen de travail de la main-d'oeuvre
masculine selon les groupes ethniques et les
industries, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Industries	Total	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
Total	4785	5504	4008	4711
Industrie manufacturière	4548	5360	4038	4432
Construction	3774	4360	3493	3776
Transport et comm.	4479	5070	3825	4538
Commerce	4322	4731	3739	4821
Finance	6025	6425	5088	6489
Services	4947	5878	4335	4301
Adm. publique	5335	5862	4290	5485
Ind. primaires	4069	5433	3145	3861
Non-spécifiées	3965	4450	3241	4061

Source: A. Raynauld et al. La répartition des revenus....,
Appendice statistique, tableau 48.

Educational level. The position of individuals in the labour force is greatly influenced by the level of education attained. Here also the census data reveal considerable differences among those of British, French and other origins; here also it is those of British origin who have, in the aggregate, a higher level of educational attainment. Table ^{1.15}~~3.7~~ gives a percentage breakdown by five levels of education for each of these three groups.

Tableau ^{1.15}~~3.7~~

Répartition en pourcentage de la main-d'oeuvre masculine de chaque groupe ethnique selon les niveaux de scolarité, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Niveaux de scolarité	Total	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autre
Total N	105,046	45,988	41,111	17,947
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Aucune	0.4	0.1*	0.6	0.6
Elémentaire (1 an ou plus)	31.0	17.7	45.7	31.8
Secondaire (1-2 ans)	20.5	20.3	22.8	15.7
Secondaire (3-5 ans)	31.0	39.5	21.1	31.9
Universitaire (1 an ou plus)	17.1	22.5	9.8	20.1

Source: A. Raynauld et al., La répartition des revenus..., Appendice statistique, tableau 123.

* Considéré comme non-significatif pour fins d'analyse pour des raisons d'échantillonnage.

It will be noted that more than one in five of the males of both the British and the non-British, non-French groups have some university training, whereas only one in ten of the males of French origin are in this category. On the other hand, close to half of

the male labour force of French origin have no more than elementary education, whereas only about one in six of the British males are in this category. Since educational attainment has a very direct bearing on occupational category and on income, these differences are clearly of some significance to the economic position of members of each group.

In fact we find that the differentials in educational level attained coincide with sharp differentials in employment incomes. In all groups, for example, individuals with some university education average roughly three times the income of those who reported no education, and more than twice the average income of those with elementary education only. Table ^{1.16} ~~3-3~~ gives the average income for those of British, French and other origins for each of the five educational levels.

^{1.16}
Tableau ~~3-3~~

Revenu moyen* de travail de la main d'oeuvre masculine
selon les groupes ethniques et les niveaux de scolarité,
zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Niveaux de scolarité	Total des origines	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
Total	\$4,785	\$5,504	\$4,008	\$4,714
Aucune	2,425	2,688**	2,481	2,161
Elémentaire (1 an et plus)	3,535	3,928	3,385	3,465
Secondaire(1-2 ans)	3,978	4,394	3,615	3,807
Secondaire(3-5 ans)	5,049	5,354	4,462	4,969
Universitaire (1 an et plus)	7,583	8,023	6,925	7,059

Source: A. Raynauld et al. La répartition des revenus...,
Appendice statistique, tableau 119.

* Calculé à partir de ceux qui ont déclaré un revenu.

** Considéré comme non-significatif pour fins d'analyse
pour des raisons d'échantillonnage.

The steady progression in average incomes as the educational level rises is apparent for all groups, and the differential is greatest in absolute terms for those with some university attendance. Clearly a group that is more concentrated at the upper end of the educational scale will derive some considerable economic advantage from this favourable educational structure. However it will also be noted that for each educational level those of British origin receive higher average wage and salary incomes than those of French or other origins, and that at the upper end of the educational scale this differential is of the order of \$1000 per year. For an explanation of these differences we must look to other factors.

Occupational Structure. Still another factor which can influence the position of all individuals in the labour force is their place in the occupational structure. The census data available to us break down the labour force into about a dozen broad occupational categories, ranging from managers to unskilled labourers, with income data for each. For the Ottawa metropolitan area we can accordingly compare the distribution by occupation for males of British, French and other origins respectively, and then look at the average income distribution for each, in much the same way that we examined the educational structure and its influence on incomes. The distribution of the various occupational categories for members of the labour force of British, French and other origins is shown in Table ^{1.17}~~3.9~~.

In this table some wide variations come to light. Broadly speaking, those of British origin are represented twice as heavily as those of French origin in the managerial and professional sectors; on the other hand, those of French origin are represented almost twice as heavily as those of British origin in the trades sector, and more than three times as heavily as labourers. The groups of

1.17
Tableau 3.9

Répartition procentuelle de la main-d'oeuvre masculine
par origine ethnique selon les occupations, zone
métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Occupations		Total	Origine ethnique		
			Britannique	Française	Autres
Toutes occupations	N	105,046	45,988	41,111	17,947
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Administrateurs		13.2	16.3	8.8	15.6
Prof. libérales & tech.		13.8	18.5	7.7	16.0
Employés de bureau		13.6	14.5	14.6	8.9
Vendeurs		6.1	6.5	6.1	5.3
Trav. des transp. & comm.		7.2	5.8	10.2	4.0
Travailleurs des Services & Activités récréatives		14.6	16.8	11.8	15.2
Ouvriers de métier, etc.		22.9	15.9	29.5	25.3
Manoeuvres		5.4	2.5	8.5	5.7
Agric. & Trav. agricoles		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Autres travailleurs du secteur primaire		1.0	0.9	0.9	1.5
Non spécifiées		2.1	2.1	1.9	2.5

Source: Tape 3, Table 8, Parts I & II, p. 34

other origins are relatively close to those of British origin in the managerial and professional categories, but rather closer to the French origin in the trades and labourer categories. They are represented below the average in certain other sectors, most notably clerical work, and transport and communications.

When we turn to the income pattern that the census shows for these occupational categories, once again sharp income

differentials occur between the highest and lowest categories.

Table ^{1.12}~~3.10~~ shows the average income for those of British, French and other origins according to occupational category.

Tableau ^{1.12}~~3.10~~

Revenu moyen de la main-d'oeuvre masculine par origine ethnique selon les occupations, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Occupations	Total	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
Toutes occupations	4,785	5,504	4,008	4,714
Administrateurs	7,760	8,324	6,902	7,336
Prof. libérales et tech.	6,887	7,119	6,703	6,405
Employés de bureau	3,733	3,928	3,528	3,684
Vendeurs	4,494	4,856	4,000	4,650
Trav. des transp. & comm.	3,504	3,886	3,228	3,710
Travailleurs des Services et Activités récréatives	4,422	5,195	3,360	4,146
Ouvriers de métier, etc.	3,864	4,175	3,757	3,648
Manoeuvres	2,402	2,310	2,443	2,365
Agric. & Trav. agricoles	4,350	4,739	3,670	4,338
Autres travailleurs du secteur primaire	2,667	2,635	2,827	2,470
Non spécifiées	3,919	4,406	3,270	3,858

Source: Tape 3, Table 8, Part I & II, p. 34

It will be noted that the average employment income of managers and professionals is of the order of three times ~~the income~~ of labourers, and this is broadly true both for the total labour force and for each group taken separately. Consequently the different occupational structures of the groups of British, French,

and other origins will be a further factor in explaining the economic position of members of each group. As before, however, there are some further differentials according to origin within each of the occupational categories which remain after these structural differences are taken into account. They are more pronounced in some categories, such as managers, salesmen, and service workers, than in others, such as professionals or skilled tradesmen. In two sectors (labourers and other workers in primary industry) those of French origin have an income above the average for all three groups combined. Apart from these two cases, however, those of British origin have the highest average income in all the remaining categories.

Age structure. One final factor which can be assessed with the aid of census data is the age structure of the labour force of British, French and other origins respectively. In general, any segment of the labour force will have higher earnings than others to the extent that its members are concentrated in the peak earning years. Conversely, a group more concentrated in the younger age groups might have lower than average earnings on account of its age structure. Proceeding as before, we can look first at the age structure of the Ottawa labour force according to ethnic origin (Table ^{1.19}~~3.11~~) and then at the pattern of average incomes for each group by age category (Table ^{1.20}~~3.12~~).

Table ^{1.19}~~3.11~~ shows that the labour force of French origins is, by and large, younger than that of British or other origins. In 1961, one in five of those of French origin was between 15 and 24 years of age, while the corresponding figure for the British and others was less than one in seven. One in three of those of British origin was in the 45 to 64 age group, against only one in four for those of French or other origins.

1.19
Tableau ~~3.11~~

Répartition procentuelle de la main-d'oeuvre masculine
de chaque groupe ethnique selon les groupes d'âges,
zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Groupes d'âge	Total	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
Total N	105,046	45,988	41,111	17,947
%	100	100	100	100
15-24 ans	15.9	13.2	19.9	13.9
25-44 ans	52.7	50.8	51.8	59.6
45-64 ans	28.4	32.2	25.9	24.6
65 ans et plus	3.0	3.8	2.4	1.9

Source: Tape 3, Table 4, pp. 64-112.

1.20
Table ~~3.12~~ shows the effect of age upon average total income (including, in this case, unearned income). For all groups the 15 to 24 age category shows earnings far below all other age categories. The greater proportion of those of French origin in this group thus becomes significant. Nevertheless at certain age levels considerable income differentials persist between those of British, French and other origins. The differences are minimal for the 15 to 24 group, but they widen significantly for those between 25 and 44, and become wider still over the age of 45, where the difference between those of British and French origin exceeds \$2000 per year.

1.20

Tableau ~~3.12~~

Répartition de la main-d'oeuvre masculine de
chaque groupe ethnique selon les groupes d'âges
et le revenu moyen,* zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Groupes d'âge	Total	Origine ethnique		
		Britannique	Française	Autres
Total	5,103	5,862	4,241	5,035
15-24 ans	2,331	2,325	2,302	2,444
25-44 ans	5,338	6,011	4,687	5,164
45-64 ans	6,181	7,019	4,998	6,221
65 ans et plus	5,419	6,328	4,076	4,584

Source: Tape 3, Table 4, pp. 64-112

* It is to be noted that the figures given here are total income figures, including wages and salaries, earnings from business and professional practice, investment income, pensions and allowances; elsewhere in this section we deal with employment income only, i.e., wages, salaries, and earnings from business or professional practice.

Relative importance of factors. In the above paragraphs we have discussed the influence of industrial structure, educational level, occupation, and age upon the economic level of male members of the labour force of different origins in the Ottawa metropolitan area. It is interesting to make some estimate of the relative importance of each of these factors in explaining the income differentials outlined in Table ~~3.12~~^{1.12} above, and it is possible to make such an estimate by statistical means. One method for analyzing income differentials between any two groups has been developed by Professor André Raynauld and his associates in a research study

which is to be published by the Commission.¹

The basic technique involved in assessing the weight of any single factor is to calculate what the income differences would be if one group had the same structure as the other with respect to that factor. The weight of the factor concerned is then the difference between the actual disparity and the disparity that would remain if both groups were alike with respect to that factor. By doing this for each factor separately one can assess the relative weight of each as a proportion of the total income disparity between the groups. Certain problems arise, however. Among these, the influence of several factors in combination is not necessarily the aggregate of their influences individually. There will normally be a degree of overlapping, and in discussing the overall relationship of all factors certain judgments must be made as to the degree of inter-relationship.

In Appendix II below we present the results of a calculation of the type we have described that compares males of British and French origin in the Ottawa metropolitan area labour force.² In this instance educational level and occupational structure have been taken as inter-related factors, and age and industrial structure independently. To this has been added an estimate of the influence of differential rates of unemployment for different educational levels based on data that are not available for Ottawa alone.

The calculation suggests that as much as 62 per cent of the total income disparity between those of French and British origin

1. A. Paynauld, G. Marion, R. Béland, La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada. Division VE, Report 2, 1966. The statistical method employed below is explained fully in this study.
2. Those of other origins have not been included because of the complexity of the further calculation and the considerable heterogeneity of those in this category.

in the Ottawa area may be traced to differences in educational level and occupational structure in combination. This compares with 45 per cent in Montreal and 44 per cent in Toronto. Differences attributable to dissimilarities in industrial structure, age and employment rates are relatively low at about 8 per cent, 11 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. Assuming a low correlation among these remaining factors, the four factors of education-occupation combined, industry, age and employment rate together account for about 90 per cent of the income differences between those of French and British origin, leaving a residue of about 10 per cent to be explained by factors other than those we have been able to examine statistically. It may be noted that by comparison the combined weight of these four factors calculated on the same basis is only 78 per cent for Toronto and under 70 per cent at Montreal; it is the far greater influence of the educational-occupational factor in Ottawa that primarily accounts for the difference.

It is clear, then, that by this method of calculation almost two thirds of the income disparity between males of French and British origin in the labour force may be traced to their differences in educational level and occupational category. Beyond this point, however, we must resort to hypotheses. On the one hand, the educational system may not be retaining proportionally as many students of French origin at the upper educational levels. Educational facilities for French-speaking and English-speaking pupils in the capital area are to a substantial degree independent of each other, and this possibility must be seriously considered. ~~[See Table 3.13]~~. Another hypothesis is that those of French origin may achieve high educational levels and yet not find satisfactory positions in the labour market. They may either enter lower-status,

lower-income occupations or leave the area to work elsewhere. Since we have no statistics on migration to and from the area, this last possibility is hard to measure. We can, however, compare educational level with occupational category, and this is done for those of French, British and other origins in Appendix ^I Table ^K ~~3.4~~.

Table ^{1.21} ~~3.13~~ points to a noticeable variation in the proportion attending school in the age groups corresponding to higher secondary and post-secondary education. Of the age group from 15 to 19 years in 1961, more than seven out of ten of those of British and other origins were attending school, but only five out of ten of those of French origin. For the group from 20 to 24 years old, the percentage of those in attendance drops sharply for all origins, but the percentage for those of British origin is at this point more than twice that for French origin.

^{1.21}
Table ~~3.13~~

Percentage of population in selected age categories attending school, by ethnic origin, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	15-19 years			20-24 years		
	Br.	Fr.	Others	Br.	Fr.	Others
Total population	12,180	14,437	3,815	10,043	12,457	4,452
Total attending school	8,899	7,349	2,703	1,187	697	392
% of age group attending school	73.1	50.9	70.9	11.8	5.6	8.8

Source: Tape 3, Table 3, pp. 16-30.

On the other hand, Appendix Table ^K~~3.4~~ suggests that even for those of the same educational level, those of British origin tend to be found more often in higher-status, higher income occupations than those of French origin (though at certain levels those of other origins do proportionally better than both). In the administrative and professional categories those of British origin are represented more heavily than those of French origin at all educational levels, and for males with university training these two categories account for 74.2 per cent of those of British origin but only 60.1 per cent of those of French origin. On the other hand, some 15.7 per cent of the university educated of French origin are in clerical occupations, as against only 5.6 and 5.4 per cent of those of British and other origins respectively.

On balance, both our original hypotheses appear to have some validity. Males of French origin do tend to leave school at an earlier age than do their counterparts of British origin, but those who go ^{on} to the higher educational levels tend on balance to find a somewhat lower-paid, lower-status position in the occupational structure than do males of British origin. It seems possible that the two tendencies reinforce each other: to the extent that further education is less certain to lead to a well-paid job, there will be that much less incentive to remain at school.

While we cannot analyze much further the causes of income disparities in the Ottawa area labour force, the existence of these disparities seems clear enough. Though the figures at our disposal relate to origin rather than to language, there is every indication that the English-speaking and French-speaking communities in the federal capital live at substantially different economic levels,

and that differences in incomes are reflected in broader differences in socio-economic status. When the weaker economic position of the French-speaking population is set beside its minority position in demographic terms and its virtually equal split between the two provinces, it can more readily be appreciated why the French-speaking presence in the federal capital has not been felt in the past as fully as might be expected.

IV Residential patterns

Having looked at the linguistic and socio-economic composition of the Ottawa area, we turn now to see how these factors relate to residential patterns in the capital. The study area is composed of 80 census sectors, of which 16 are on the Quebec side and 64 in Ontario.¹ Within each the population may be broken down by mother tongue, and an idea of the economic status of the sector may be obtained by looking at the average wage and salary income of the male residents (see appendix I, Table ~~4-4~~^LA). With this information two questions may be at least partially answered. First, do persons of the same mother tongue tend to cluster together, or are persons of English, French and other mother tongues dispersed fairly widely throughout the capital area? Second, does the residential pattern vary according to the socio-economic status of the sector concerned, or is it more or less uniform?

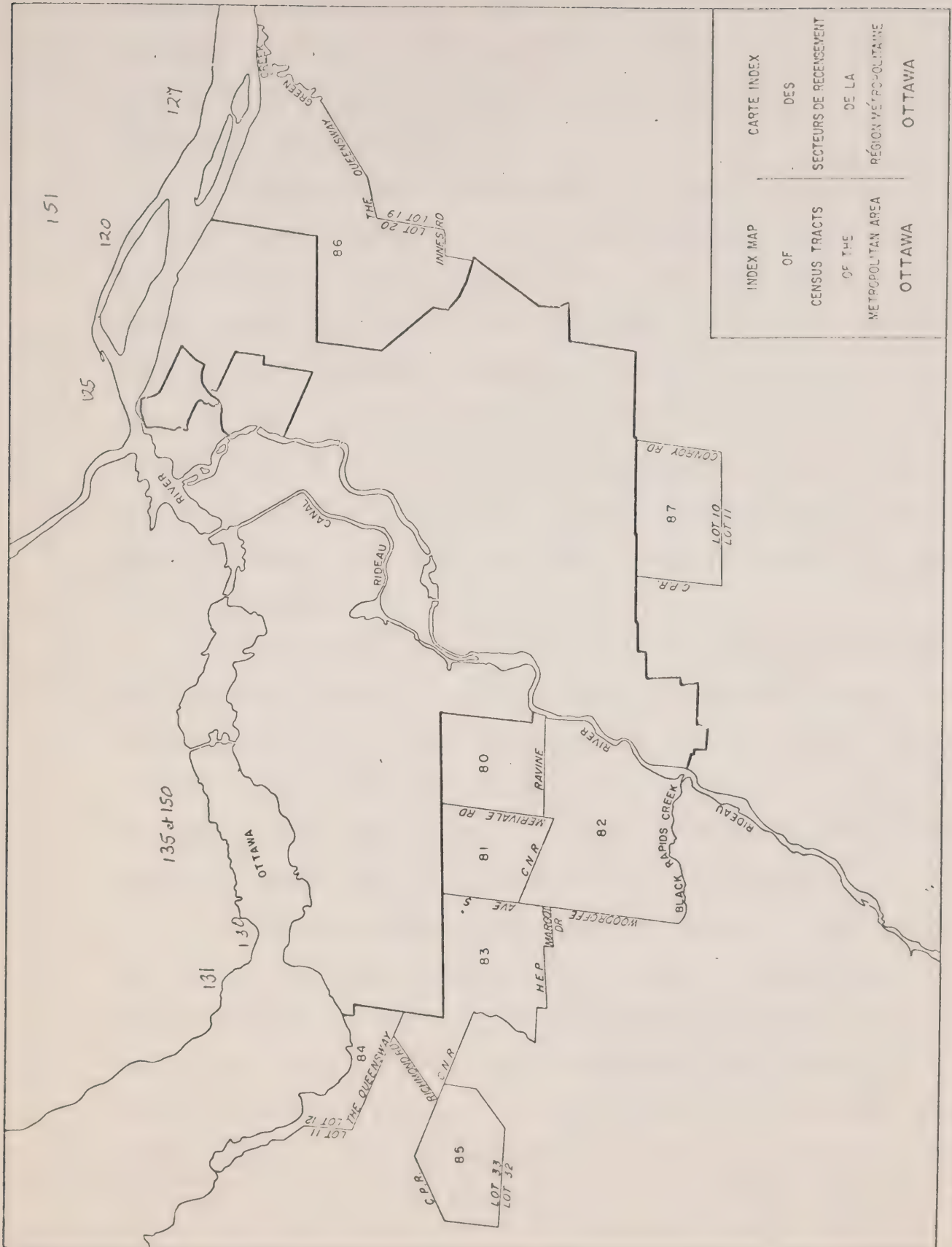
When viewed from the standpoint of language alone, there is a general tendency in the capital for persons of the same mother tongue to cluster together. In 38 census sectors, those of English mother tongue form over 70 per cent of the population, while in a further 18, those of French mother tongue do so. Only 24 sectors fall between these levels. To put the matter another way, some 66.3 and 62.2 per cent of English-speaking and French-speaking residents respectively live in sectors of high linguistic concentration (70 per cent or more). As those of other mother tongues make up less than seven per cent of the Ottawa area population, it is not surprising that in no sector do they form a

1. See Map ~~4-1~~ 1.3

MAP 1-3



MAP 1:3 (cont.)



CARTE INDEX

DES

SECTEURS DE RECENSEMENT

DE LA

RÉGION MÉTROPOLITAINE

OTTAWA

INDEX MAP

OF

CENSUS TRACTS

OF THE

METROPOLITAN AREA

OTTAWA

majority. However, some slight degree of concentration may be discerned in that 37.9 per cent of residents having other mother tongues live in some 13 sectors in which they comprise 10 per cent or more of the population.

The location of these areas of concentration is interesting. In 11 of the 18 sectors of high French-speaking concentration, over 80 per cent of the population is of French mother tongue. These sectors are all on the Quebec side of the metropolitan area, that is, West Templeton, Gatineau, Pointe-Gatineau and eight of the nine Hull sectors. Of the remaining seven sectors, where from 70.0 to 79.9 per cent of the population is French-speaking, one is on the Quebec side (the remaining Hull sector), and six are in Ontario. Three of the five Eastview sectors fall into this latter category.

The areas of high English-speaking concentration are all on the Ontario side. As may be seen from Map ^{1.4}~~4.2~~, these sectors extend mainly to the west and south of central Ottawa, and are in fact largely suburban in character. The sectors in which those of other mother tongues show a slight tendency to concentrate are, with two exceptions, in the central part of Ottawa.

Although approximately the same proportion of English- and French-speaking people live in sectors of high linguistic concentration, the rest of the English-speaking population tend to differ from the rest of the French-speaking population in their residential pattern. As may be seen in Table ^{1.22}~~4.1~~, 90 per cent of the English-speaking residents live in the 54 sectors where English is at least the language of the majority. The percentage

deutsches über 102 Jahre alt in bayerischer



70% + FRENCH. MOTHER TONGUE.

70% + ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE

1.22
Table ~~4.1~~

Residential Patterns: Mother Tongue by Linguistic
Concentration and Dispersion, 1961

Kind of sector	No. of sectors	Pop. living in sectors	Mother Tongue		
			English	French	Other
High English concentration (70% +)	38	182,538	66.3	10.7	47.5
Mixed: English majority	16	91,940	23.8	17.0	38.4
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mixed: French majority	8	27,943	4.3	10.1	5.4
High French concentration (70% +)	18	113,319	5.6	62.2	8.7
Total	80	415,740	100	100	100

Source: tabulations based on Appendix¹ Table ~~4.1~~ L.

of people living in sectors where their mother tongue is not spoken by the majority is almost three times as high for the French-speaking as for the English-speaking population.

Those of other mother tongues tend, to a striking degree, to live in predominantly English-speaking sectors. Indeed, their residential pattern, in its very marked leaning towards these sectors, strongly corroborates the evidence given above, on the bases of mother tongue transfers and knowledge of official languages,¹ that those of other origins in the capital area tend

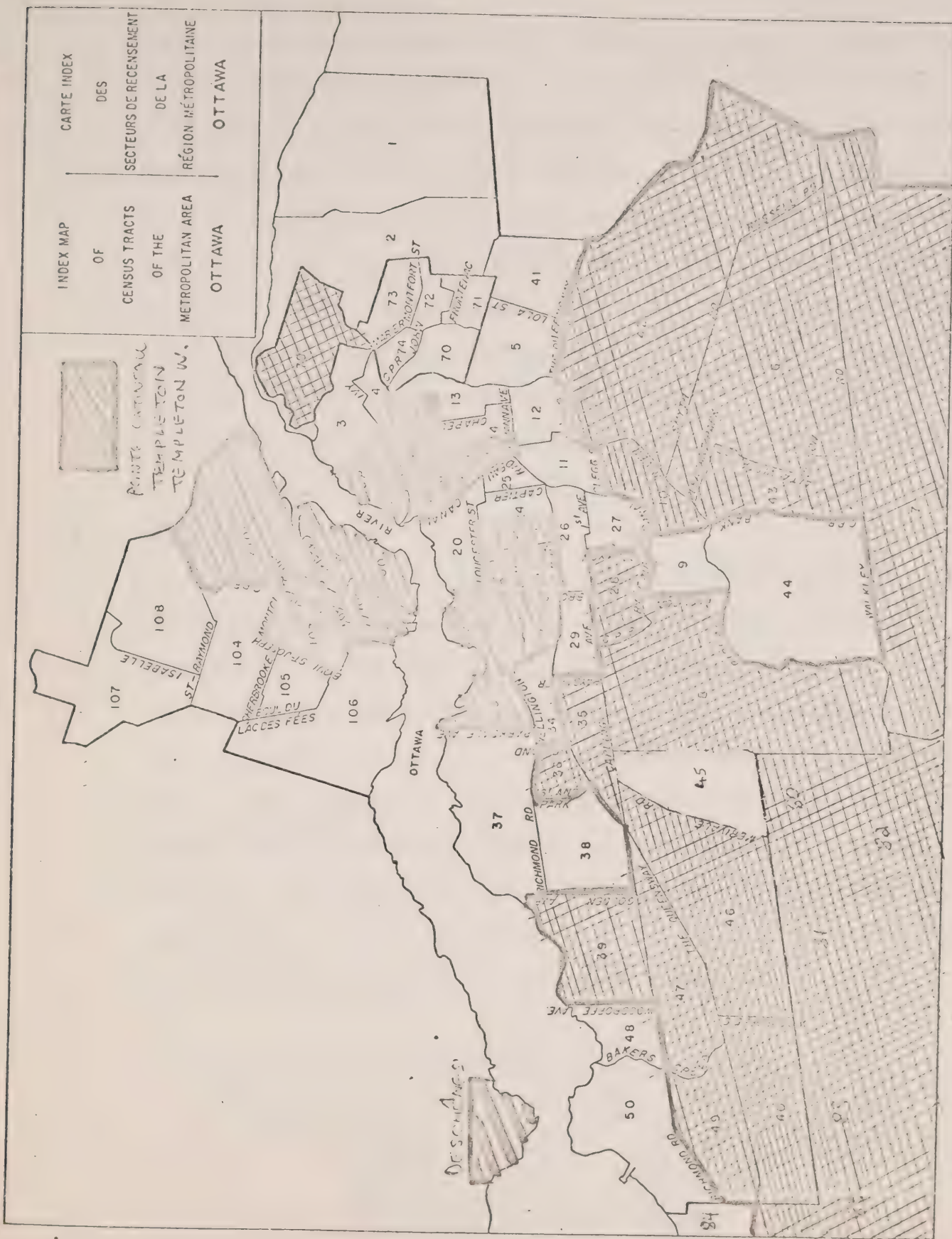
1. See above, p. 1.23

towards linguistic and cultural identification with the population of English mother tongue. These tendencies are sufficiently pronounced in the overall picture that it may be helpful for certain purposes, as we shall see later, to view the residents of English and other mother tongues as a single community.

The possible reasons underlying these patterns of residence are many, and they will vary in importance according to the individual. To the person of low income, the choice of residence will be limited to those sectors containing housing that he can afford; to the person of higher income, social and prestige factors may enter into consideration. The locally born population will probably have a greater sensitivity than has the migrant population to such traditional patterns as the concentration of French-speaking persons in the Ottawa Lower Town area. To some, the proximity of the appropriate schools, churches and a whole range of other facilities will be of importance. The desire to be near the place of work, to live in an apartment rather than a house, to live in a suburban area rather than the centre of town, to be located on one or the other side of the provincial boundary, are all further elements that may affect the decision of where to live.

Residential pattern and economic level. Most of these factors that influence the pattern of residence cannot be studied in detail here, but the economic factor is worth further analysis, because the residential pattern for the higher-income census sectors seems to differ from that for the lower-income sectors. On Map ^{1.5}~~4.5~~ are marked the 20 richest and 20 poorest census sectors

Richest and Poorest Sectors



RECEIEMENT DU CANADA, 1961

indicates 20 mgmt

Indica Test
20 poorest

in terms of average employment income per sector.¹ Eight out of the 20 poorest sectors are on the Quebec side of the metropolitan area, namely West Templeton, Templeton, Pointe-Gatineau, Deschênes and four of Hull's nine sectors. This is to say that half of the Quebec sectors fall within that quarter of the metropolitan area's 80 sectors having the lowest income. The remaining 12 sectors within this quarter are on the Ontario side and are to be found in the older areas of central Ottawa. The 20 richest sectors, all in Ontario and all in suburban areas, include Rockcliffe Park, 14 of Ottawa's 40 sectors and five of Nepean's six sectors. Neither Gloucester nor Eastview contain any such high income areas.

Because of the limitations of the data available, we cannot say for each mother tongue where persons of high and low income live.² However, by taking the average income of the sector as an indicator of the economic status of the neighbourhood, we can say in what kinds of areas persons of different mother tongues live. For example, Rockcliffe Park has an average income of \$8,326 and 217 persons of French mother tongue live there. Thus, while it cannot be said that 217 French-speaking residents with high incomes live in the sector, it can be said that 217 French-speaking people do live in this high income area.

1. The 80 census sectors were arranged in order of their average income and then divided into four quarters. The population is fairly evenly distributed between them as follows:

Poorest 20 sectors	24.2%
Next 20 sectors	26.3%
Next 20 sectors	25.8%
Richest 20 sectors	23.8%
Total	100%

2. Material is available on the location of federal public servants, for which see pages 164 to 167 below.

If the population is broken down by mother tongue for the sectors of different economic status (Table ^{1.23}~~4.2~~), it appears that a very substantial majority of the French-speaking population

Table ^{1.23}~~4.2~~

Residential Patterns: Mother Tongue by Average Income of Sectors, 1961

Average Income	Mother Tongue		
	English	French	Other
\$2,843 - \$3,450 (lowest 20 sectors)	12.3	40.5	29.7
\$3,457 - \$4,096 (next 20 sectors)	18.1	39.2	21.5
\$4,180 - \$5,226 (next 20 sectors)	32.3	15.6	28.7
\$5,253 - \$8,326 (highest 20 sectors)	37.3	4.6	20.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: tabulations based on Appendix Table ~~4.A.1~~

live in the 40 sectors of lower income. For the English-speaking residents, a less pronounced majority live in the sectors of higher income. Given the general pattern of socio-economic disparities in the capital area, as described in section III above, this was more or less to be expected. Those of other mother tongues reside in roughly equal proportions at all four economic levels.

To clarify the pattern further we may combine the degree of linguistic concentration in each census sector with its average income level. One way of presenting these data is to make a four-way division of the population according to the kind of census

tracts in which they live. The four categories are arranged so as to show the percentage of the population who live in:

1. a low income sector in which over 70 per cent of the population has a mother tongue according with their own;
2. a low income sector without such a linguistic concentration;
3. a high income sector with such a linguistic concentration; and
4. a high income sector without such a linguistic concentration.

The four resulting percentages, which add to 100, ~~in each case~~, enable us to produce the quartile diagrams shown below.

When this technique is applied to the French-speaking population, it can be seen that of those living in the low income

Population of French Mother Tongue

	Lower income (40 sectors)	Higher income (40 sectors)
In sectors of French concentration 70% +	60.4%	1.8%
In non-concentrated sectors	19.4%	18.4%

sectors, more than three out of four live in areas of high French-speaking concentration. Of those who live in high income areas, more than nine out of ten live in non-concentrated areas.

Table ^L~~4~~ in the Appendix shows that of the top 40 sectors only one, number 107 at the north end of Hull, has a majority of French-speaking residents, the other 39 having an English-speaking majority.

The English-speaking population, on the other hand, is distributed residentially in quite a different fashion. From the diagram, we can say that of the English-speaking population

Population of English Mother Tongue

	Lower income (40 sectors)	Higher income (40 sectors)
In sectors of English concentration 70% +	9.1%	57.2%
In non-concentrated sectors	21.3%	12.4%

in higher income areas, a large majority live in areas of high English-speaking linguistic concentration. Of those in the lower income areas, a little less than one third live in areas of relatively high English-speaking concentration.

For those whose mother tongue is other than English or French a different pattern again emerges, although here, as their smaller numbers, we must use a lower criterion for defining earlier, because of linguistic concentration (in this instance 10 per cent only). It can be said that where there is a slight

Population of Other Mother Tongues

	Lower income (40 sectors)	Higher income (40 sectors)
In sectors of other language concentration of 10% +	35.7%	2.2%
In non-concentrated sectors	15.5%	46.6%

tendency for the other mother tongue population to concentrate, this is done in the low income sectors. There is a very pronounced tendency in the opposite direction in high income sectors.

The hypothesis was raised earlier that those of other mother tongues in the capital area tend to identify with the English-speaking population. If this is the case, one can also look at the distribution of the population having either English or another language as mother tongue. If this is done the result is to increase the numbers of sectors where there is high, *non-French* linguistic concentration from 38 to 45 and also to increase the proportion of persons living in low rather than high income areas. The quartile distribution of the population of English plus *Ø*ther mother tongues - in other words, the non-French-speaking sector - is as follows:

Total Population of Mother Tongue other than French

	Lower income (40 sectors)	Higher income (40 sectors)
In sectors of English and other concentration of 70% +	19.9%	58.0%
In non-concentrated sectors	12.7%	9.4%

From this quartile distribution, it can be seen that a large majority of this population in high income sectors live in linguistically concentrated areas. This same pattern, although less pronounced, is also visible in the lower income sectors. In other words, to the extent that our hypothesis is correct, both the French-speaking and the English - or - other speaking populations tend towards concentration in the lower income sectors; in the higher income sectors the French speakers tend to diffuse fairly widely among the heavy majority of English speakers.

Another way of looking at the distribution of French-speaking and non-French-speaking residents of various income levels is utilized in Diagram II. In this scatter diagram each dot represents a sector and is positioned vertically according to the average income and horizontally according to the percentage of the population of French mother tongue in the sector. Higher income sectors appear in the upper portion of the diagram and lower incomes ones at the bottom. Sectors on the left hand side have a small proportion of French-speaking population; those on the right, a large one.

In this way it is possible to see that there are many more sectors with few people of French mother tongue living in them than sectors with a high percentage. While the high income areas virtually all have a relatively low percentage of French-speaking people, there is far less of a tendency for the low income sectors to concentrate at any single part of the scale. Indeed, among the lower income sectors one finds a distribution stretching right across all levels of linguistic concentration, from areas of very high French concentration to sectors of high to moderately high concentration of English plus other languages. Owing to the general socio-economic structure of the capital area, however, these latter sectors are less numerous at the lower end of the income scale than are the sectors of high French-speaking concentration.

While the residential pattern of the population at large can be analyzed only in terms of the average income of each census tract, we can examine that of federal public servants in terms of specific income levels. We have noted in the preceding

Diagram II Concentration of English plus other Mother Tongue

OC=Ottawa (central part)
 OE= " (east part)
 OW= " (west part)
 OS= " (south part)
 F = Hull
 E = Eastview
 C = Gatineau
 A = Aylmer
 PG= Pointe-Gatineau
 Luc= Lucerne
 T = Templeton
 WT= West Templeton
 D = Deschênes
 R = Rockcliffe Park
 GL= Gloucester
 N = Nepean



section that Ottawa and Eastview show a higher percentage of their labour force employed in the governmental sector than do the Quebec municipalities of Hull or Gatineau. It is hardly surprising then to find that federal public servants show a stronger tendency to reside on the Ontario side than does the population at large. The proportions for all public servants and for high-income public servants are compared to the figures for the general population in Table ^{1.24}~~4-3~~.

Table ^{1.24}~~4-3~~

Percentages* of various populations living in the Ontario and Quebec portions of the Ottawa metropolitan area, by mother tongue, 1961

Population	Mother tongue							
	Total		English		French		Other	
	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.	Ont.	Que.
Total M.A. population N = 429,750	77.5	22.5	94.4	5.6	49.4	50.6	94.7	5.3
Total federal public service N = 45,619	85.4	14.6	95.9	4.1	61.3	38.7	97.5	2.5
Federal public service earning over \$10,000 N = 2,017	96.2	3.8	98.1	1.9	78.6	21.4	97.1	2.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 1, Table 3.

* Percentages run horizontally, the figures for Ontario and Quebec adding to 100 for each mother tongue by population category.

For those of English and other mother tongues, who are already very heavily concentrated on the Ontario side, the difference between public servants and the general public is rather small; for those of French mother tongue, the difference

is greater, and it becomes greater still for higher income public servants. In the capital area some six out of every 10 of the French-speaking public servants reside in Ontario, and this proportion rises to almost eight out of 10 among those reporting earnings over \$10,000 in 1961.

It is possible to analyze in more detail the residential pattern of federal public servants, though the source of these data does not permit a study by individual census tracts. Two tables in ~~the~~ Appendix¹ give the numbers and percentages of federal public servants living in each of twelve zones of the metropolitan area, each zone representing a cluster of contiguous census sectors. Table ~~A-B~~^M refers to all federal public servants resident in the metropolitan area, Table ~~A-C~~^N to the group of just over 2,000 officials who in 1961 had earnings of \$10,000 or more. Each table taken separately allows us to see the residential pattern for those of English, French and other mother tongues, while a comparison of one table against the other enables us to identify more clearly the tendencies of the upper income group as compared to the total number. Though the analysis could be carried much further from available data, it seems necessary here only to indicate the broad tendencies suggested by the data.

To compare first those of high income against the total public service,¹ it will be noted that those earning over \$10,000 in 1961 tend to be more concentrated than the others in the suburban ring around the urban core, specifically in the eastern, south-eastern, south-western and western sectors of the City of Ottawa, and in the zone composed of Rockcliffe Park, Nepean and

1. Cf. column 1 of Table ~~A-B~~^M and column 1 of Table ~~A-C~~^N.

Gloucester. Those earning less tend to be more concentrated in central Ottawa, Eastview, Hull, and the zone comprising the remaining Quebec municipalities. In broad terms this pattern holds true for public servants of English, French or other mother tongues alike; the only major discrepancy is a further tendency for some upper income French-speaking public servants to concentrate in sectors 11-15 of east-central Ottawa, i.e., in the Sandy Hill area.

When we compare more closely the residence patterns for the different language groups in the total public service (columns 2-4 of Table ~~4.2~~^M) we find, as might be expected, some general tendencies not unlike the residence pattern for the total population. Those speaking French tend to be more concentrated than the others in Eastview, Hull, the remaining Quebec municipalities, and Ottawa Lower Town (Zone B). Those speaking English tend to be more concentrated in the outer edges of Ottawa (Zones D, G and H), in the other Ontario municipalities (except Eastview) and in the central part of downtown Ottawa (Zone E).¹ Public servants of other mother tongues follow much the same pattern as the latter group.

Public servants earning over \$10,000, regardless of their mother tongue, seem to show a more pronounced similarity of residential pattern at least within the City of Ottawa itself. In six of the eight Ottawa zones in Appendix Table ~~4.6~~^N, the percentage distributions for English, French and other mother tongues are closely comparable. For the remaining zones, French-speakers tend

^{1.4}
1. Cf. Map ~~4.2~~^{an}, which shows analogous pattern for the total population.

to be more concentrated than the others in the east central areas of the City, and are far less concentrated than either the English or others in the West End. Outside the City of Ottawa, high income French-speaking public servants are more concentrated than the other groups in Hull and in Quebec generally, but less so in the zone comprising Rockcliffe Park, Nepean and Gloucester.

The overall impression left by Table ~~4-1c~~^N, however, is of substantially similar residential patterns for high-income public servants of all language groups. This suggests that for large numbers of upper level civil servants the choice of residence is influenced less by linguistic or cultural factors than by other considerations. The same may well hold true for the higher income levels of the general population also, but the available data do not enable us to say so with certainty.

Summary. The residential pattern of the federal capital area shows that roughly two-thirds of both the English-speaking and the French-speaking population live in census sectors of substantial linguistic concentration. The population of non-English, non-French mother tongue tends, to a striking degree, to live in primarily English-speaking sectors. Further analysis by income levels reveals a wide range of linguistic proportions for low-income census tracts, from high French-speaking concentration to high English-speaking concentration, while in upper income tracts there is a tendency for those of French mother tongue to disperse fairly widely throughout the metropolitan area. The pattern for federal public servants points in much the same direction. For the group as a whole there are clear tendencies towards linguistic concentration; for the upper echelon the residential pattern is far less directly linked to mother tongue.

In other words, there is little tendency for the middle and upper income French-speaking population of the federal capital area to form a residential concentration of their own, analogous, for example, to one of the English-speaking suburbs of Montreal.

It is perhaps wise to conclude this section with a caveat. The tendency of upper level public servants to live dispersed among their English-speaking counterparts may be due to their relatively small numbers. In 1961, public servants of French mother tongue accounted for only 9.0 per cent of those earning over \$10,000 per year, 8.7 per cent of those earning \$8,000 - \$10,000, compared to 15.4 per cent of those earning \$6,000 - \$8,000 and 34.9 per cent of those earning less than \$6,000.¹ The residential tendencies described in this section might well be modified by any significant increase in the number of French-speaking residents at the middle or upper income levels.

1. Source: Tape 1, Table 3, Part I, p. 225.

V Bilingualism in the federal capital

To what extent is the population of the capital of Canada bilingual? While the following chapters will attempt to answer this question in some detail and especially in relation to specific areas, this section is concerned to give a broad statistical measurement of the ability of the local population to speak the two official languages. The basic data on bilingualism may be related in turn to some of the characteristics analyzed in preceding sections; we can study the incidence of bilingualism as it relates to ethnic origin,¹ to geographical and residential factors, and to the working world. This particular aspect of our inquiry is important because the bilingual population plays a vital role as a bridge between the two major linguistic communities, not only for the federal capital alone, but also, to some degree, for Canada at large.

In 1961, some 30.8 per¹cent of the Ottawa metropolitan area population reported a knowledge of the two official languages. This is between two and three times the national average, the figure for Canada as a whole being 12.2 per cent. As may be seen in Table ^{1.25}~~5.1~~, the Ottawa area ranks second among the major metropolitan areas in Canada in its degree of bilingualism, coming only after Montreal, where the proportion of bilinguals is 36.8 per cent. Among the other major metropolitan areas, Quebec City alone contains a substantial proportion of people knowing English and French, 24.3 per cent of the population. For the remainder, well

1. Most of the available data are cross-classified by ethnic origin rather than mother tongue.

under 10 per cent reported a knowledge of both French and English.¹

1.25
Tableau ~~5.1~~

Distribution procentuelle de la population du
Canada et des principales zones métropolitaines
par langue officielle, 1961 (population 200,000 ou plus)

Régions	Population	Langue officielle			
		Anglais	Français	les deux	ni l'une ni l'autre
	%	%	%	%	%
Canada	100.0	67.4	19.1	12.2	1.3
Ottawa	100.0	55.0	13.2	30.8	1.0
Montréal	100.0	21.9	39.2	36.8	2.1
Toronto	100.0	92.6	0.2	4.3	2.9
Vancouver	100.0	94.9	0.2	3.9	1.0
Winnipeg	100.0	90.9	0.6	7.4	1.1
Hamilton	100.0	94.9	0.2	3.4	1.5
Québec	100.0	1.4	74.1	24.3	0.2
Edmonton	100.0	93.7	0.3	5.1	0.9
Calgary	100.0	95.9	0.1	3.3	0.7

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

1. Bilingualism can, of course, be measured in relation to other languages besides English and French, but Canadian census data are very incomplete in this respect. Nevertheless, some material is available with regard to those whose reported mother tongue is other than the two official languages. Thus, the population speaking English or French plus one other language (as indicated by the question on mother tongue) account for about 5.7 per cent of the population aged 15 years and over of the metropolitan area: those who speak English and French plus another language (on the same basis) add another 1.0 per cent to this figure. The corresponding figures for the Canadian population at large are 11.0 and 0.7 per cent respectively. Actual bilingualism of this type may be much higher, for these are minimum levels revealed by the Census. Thus while official bilingualism in the capital is well above the national average, the incidence of bilingualism with respect to other languages may be less widespread than in the country as a whole.

Sources: (Ottawa data) Tape 3, Table 5 (20 per cent sample of population aged 15 years or over);
(Canada data) Tape 5, Table 1 (1 per cent sample of all households).

As in most other parts of Canada, the overall level of bilingualism in the Ottawa metropolitan area is considerably higher for Canadians of French origin than for those of British origin. In the Ottawa area some 60.1 per cent of the population of French origin reported in 1961 that they were bilingual as compared to 9.6 per cent of those of British origin. These percentages were more than twice as high as those for the country as a whole, the comparable figures for Canada being 30.0 and 4.0 per cent respectively. Clearly, while the French origin population is considerably more bilingual than the British, both groups contribute to the higher than average level of bilingualism in the capital.

Knowledge of the two official languages among those of other than British or French origin in the Ottawa area is at a lower level than that for those of French origin, but is generally higher than the British origin figure. Some groups, such as those of German, Dutch and Scandinavian background, are as low as the British group or lower in their level of official bilingualism. Others, such as those of Jewish, Italian and Other European origins, have perceptibly higher levels. However, even the most bilingual of the non-British, non-French groups falls far below the level of official bilingualism reported by those of French origin.¹

The incidence of bilingualism also varies widely for individual municipalities in the metropolitan area. From a high of 54.4 per cent in Deschênes, the range extends to a low of 8.7 per cent in Nepean. Table ^{1.26}~~5.2~~ presents the detailed breakdown. The percentages for Eastview and Hull, 52.4 and 49.1 per cent respectively, suggest that they are among the most highly bilingual

1. See Appendix I, Table ~~2.22~~ 2.26.

1-26
Table ~~5-2~~

Distribution procentuelle de la population par
- langue officielle, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Municipalité	Total population		Langue officielle			
			Anglais	Français	les deux	ni l'une ni l'autre
	N	%				
Ottawa	268,206	100	70.4	3.3	25.0	1.3
Eastview	24,555	100	32.0	14.5	52.4	1.1
Gloucester	18,301	100	54.5	12.2	32.8	0.5
Nepean	19,753	100	90.7	0.4	8.7	0.2
Rockcliffe Park	2,084	100	69.0	1.5	29.6	0.1
Hull	56,929	100	5.6	44.7	49.1	0.6
Aylmer	6,286	100	34.3	17.6	48.0	0.1
Deschênes	2,090	100	25.0	20.3	54.4	0.3
Gatineau	13,022	100	8.1	52.7	39.1	0.1
Lucerne	5,762	100	45.7	14.5	39.6	0.2
Pointe- Gatineau	8,854	100	1.8	59.4	38.7	0.1
Templeton	2,965	100	8.1	52.7	39.1	0.1
Templeton Ouest	943	100	31.9	40.0	28.0	0.1
Total Ontario	332,899	100	67.9	4.5	26.5	1.2
Total Québec	96,851	100	10.6	43.2	45.8	0.4
Total Z.M.	429,750	100	55.0	13.2	30.8	1.0

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 95-528
Bulletin: CT-13

municipalities of their size in Canada.¹ While the City of Ottawa has the second lowest percentage of bilinguals among the municipalities of the area, it does have by far the largest absolute number of bilinguals in the capital area, as a result of its relative size. The proportions by provinces should also be noted: 26.5 per cent of the population on the Ontario side of the metropolitan area is bilingual, as against 45.8 per cent on the Quebec side.

City-wide averages tend to hide very wide variations from one census sector to another.² Within Ottawa itself the percentage of bilingual persons living in the various census tracts varies from a low of 7.8 per cent to a high of 68.8 per cent. Map ~~5-1~~¹⁻⁶ shows the location of the sectors characterized by high and low levels of bilingualism. It will be noted that of the 17 sectors in the metropolitan area where over 50 per cent of the population is bilingual, seven are in Ottawa, six in Hull, and three in Eastview. As might be expected, there is a high correlation between the level of bilingualism and the number of persons of French mother tongue living in the sector. Of the 17 most bilingual sectors, twelve contain populations of over 70 per cent French-speaking, and of the 39 sectors where less than 25 per cent of the population are bilingual, 34 out of 39 have English-speaking concentrations of over 70 per cent.³ A further inverse correlation exists between the income level of the sector and the extent of bilingualism. Sixteen of the 17 most bilingual tracts are among the lower 40 in terms of average income, while 30 of the 39 least bilingual sectors are among the upper 40.

1. See Appendix Table ~~5-1~~⁵⁻⁰.

2. For a detailed breakdown by sector, see Appendix Table ~~5-1~~^P.

3. A comparison between Map 1.4 and Map 1.6 will illustrate the relationship between mother tongue concentration and bilingualism.

It is also interesting to compare the rates of official bilingualism in the federal capital area between 1951 and 1961. Table ~~5.3~~^{1.27} indicates the percentage of the total population speaking one or both or neither of the official languages at these

Table ~~5.3~~^{1.27}

Distribution procentuelle de la population par langue officielle dans la zone métropolitaine * d'Ottawa, 1951 et 1961

Langue officielle	1951	1961
Anglais	53.2	55.0
Français	13.6	13.2
Les deux	33.0	30.8
Ni l'une, ni l'autre	0.2	1.0
Total %	100.0	100.0
N	281,908	429,750

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1951, Volume I, Tableau 58. Recensement du Canada, 1961.
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

* The 1941 figures are not available for the metropolitan area.

dates. The figures suggest that the level of bilingualism in the capital revealed by the 1961 census is not a development of recent years; indeed it has decreased slightly since the census of 1951. While the proportion of those speaking French only has not changed very much, those speaking English only have increased very slightly, as has the relatively small group speaking neither official language. Because of the limitations of the 1951 data

77

we cannot analyze these figures further. Presumably the declining proportion of those of French origin, the most bilingual element, and the influx of population from less bilingual areas, are the major factors in the change.

Bilingualism and the working world. A closer approximation to the language that will be used in the public life of the capital may be obtained from an examination of the degree of bilingualism to be found within the local labour force. Not only does this body exclude young children who have not yet learned to speak any language, but also such persons as students, housewives and pensioners whose role in the provision of goods and services to the public is marginal.

The total labour force in the capital is considerably more bilingual than the population as a whole (40.8 per cent as against 30.8 per cent), and as may be seen in Table ^{1.28}~~5.4~~, the same holds true for those of British, French and other origins considered separately. Clearly, the contribution of those of French origin to the bilingual labour force is a substantial one: in fact, in the labour force roughly four out of five of those who reported an ability to speak the two official languages are of French origin.

Table ^{1.28}~~5.4~~

Percentage of population officially bilingual by ethnic origin, total population and labour force, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	Total	Ethnic origin		
		British	French	Other
Total population	30.8	9.6	60.1	13.6
Labour force	40.8	12.4	83.8	18.1

Sources: (total population) Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue: 95-528. Bulletin: C1-13.
(labour force) Tape 3, Table 1.

The main focus of our inquiry should be to establish whether bilinguals currently play any special part in the working life of the capital, and this perhaps involves two basic questions. First, are bilingual members of the labour force concentrated in special areas, either by industry, by occupation, or by educational level? Second, is the pattern of remuneration of bilinguals such as to encourage them to utilize their language skills in any special way in the economy of the region?

To consider the first question first, none of the statistical tabulations at our disposal enables us to study bilingualism by industry structure, but we can analyze the incidence of bilingualism by educational level and by occupational category. To consider education first, Table ^{1.29}~~5.5~~ shows the proportion of the bilingual population to the total population (in percentage terms) at each level of schooling, for those of British, French, and other origins. It will be noted that for the three groups taken side by side no

Table ^{1.29}~~5.5~~

Bilingual members of the Labour Force expressed as a percentage of the total in each category, by origin by level of schooling, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

Level of Schooling	All origins	Origin		
		British	French	Other
All levels	40.8	12.4	83.8	18.1
Elementary	51.5	13.3	79.8	14.4
Secondary 1-2 years	44.1	10.5	86.2	16.3
Secondary 3-5 years	31.7	9.8	83.4	17.3
University 1+ years	37.6	20.0	91.6	27.8

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 3, Tabulation 8, Parts I and II.

Note: No schooling column omitted as the numbers are too small to be significant in a 20 per cent sample.

very pronounced pattern emerges, except that for each origin those with some university education report significantly higher levels of bilingualism than the rest. But the different levels of bilingualism between groups remain far greater than differences between educational levels.

More interesting, perhaps, is the distribution of bilinguals by occupational category. Table ^{1.30}~~5.6~~ shows the percentage of bilinguals in each occupational sector for those of British, French

^{1.30}
Table ~~5.6~~

Bilingual members of the Labour Force expressed as a percentage of the total in each category of ethnic * origin by occupation group

Job Classification	All origins	Ethnic origin		
		British	French	Other
Total	40.8	12.4	83.8	18.1
Managerial	36.7	14.7	90.6	25.3
Prof. & Tech.	33.4	14.2	86.9	24.5
Clérical	39.5	10.1	88.9	16.9
Sales	43.9	15.9	86.7	21.0
Serv. & Rec.	37.2	11.1	77.0	14.4
Trans. & Comm.	54.3	14.2	88.5	19.6
Other Primary	33.3	15.6	64.9	14.4
Craftsmen	48.6	13.2	82.5	14.0
Labourers	50.3	15.3	72.7	12.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 3, Tabulation 8, Parts I and II.

* Excluding categories of farmers and not stated.

177

and other origins. On this Table, also what stands out most is the relatively uniform distribution of bilinguals across the whole occupational range, and the persistence of major differences by ethnic origin at every occupational level. It seems significant that managers and sales personnel of British origin, for example, are not significantly more bilingual than British-origin labourers, and neither group is strikingly different from the British-origin labour force as a whole. On the other hand, the labour force of French origin shows high levels of bilingualism in almost all occupational categories, dropping significantly only in the categories of labourers and workers in primary industry. Even the degree of bilingualism in these categories, however, is very high in relation to all occupational categories for those of non-French origin.

Only in the column for those of non-British, non-French origin do the variations between occupation groups become very pronounced. Managers and professionals of other origins show roughly twice the proportion of bilinguals as do labourers of other origins. But this may reflect, at least in part, an educational experience gained outside of Canada, or it may reflect the ethnic diversity represented by the "other origins" column.

The pattern of remuneration for bilinguals may best be studied by comparing the incomes of bilinguals with the incomes of unilinguals having the same educational and occupational characteristics. This has been done in full in Appendix Table ^Q~~5-6~~ for ethnic origin and educational level, and in Appendix Table ^R~~5-7~~ for ethnic origin and occupational category. A simpler way of presenting the relationship is to calculate the difference, positive or negative, between the average income of bilinguals and of the total

group having the same characteristics. It may then be said that bilinguals enjoy a premium or suffer an income disadvantage when compared to the rest of the group, though we must be careful to state that this premium or penalty need not be a direct result of bilingual skills, but can arise rather from other factors not made clear by our data.

Table ^{1.31}~~5.7~~ shows these differentials calculated by educational level, with differentials in favour of bilinguals as plus (+) values and against them as negative (-) ones. It will be seen that

Table ^{1.31}~~5.7~~

Differentials in average income between bilingual members of the labour force and total labour force for each level of schooling,* by ethnic origin, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

Level of Schooling	All origins	Ethnic Origin		
		British	French	Others
All levels	- 204.	+ 324.	+ 132.	+ 711.
Elementary	+ 40.	- 290.	+ 151.	+ 452.
Secondary 1-2 years	- 176.	- 12.	+ 64.	- 154.
Secondary 3-5 years	- 122.	+ 158.	+ 42.	+ 678.
University 1+ years	- 183.	- 85.	+ 140.	+ 337.

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 3, Tabulation 8, Parts I and II

* Excluding category of no schooling.

bilinguals of French origin tend to earn a little more than the average for the whole group at every educational level, though the differentials remain small because so large a percentage of those of French origin are in fact bilingual. Bilinguals of British

origin in 1961 tended to earn a little less than their unilingual counterparts, except for those with upper level secondary education. For all levels together, however, British origin bilinguals earned more than unilinguals because of their greater concentration at the upper educational level. Only for those of other origins do the income advantages of bilinguals become very pronounced, and even for them there is an exception for the group with two years or less of secondary education.

The pattern of differentials for each occupational category is more complex. Table ^{1.32}~~5.8~~ shows some income differentials of considerable size in favour of bilinguals, particularly at the

Table ^{1.32}~~5.8~~

Differentials in average income between bilingual members of the labour force and total labour force for each occupation group,* by ethnic origin, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

Occupation Group	All origins	Ethnic Origin		
		British	French	Others
Managerial	- 223.	+ 658.	+ 51.	+ 846.
Prof. & Tech.	- 7.	+ 253.	+ 200.	+ 410.
Clerical	- 74.	- 22.	+ 21.	+ 30.
Sales	- 114.	+ 142.	+ 88.	+ 681.
Serv. & Rec.	- 419.	+ 50.	+ 204.	+ 448.
Trans. & Comm.	- 172.	- 600.	+ 63.	- 286.
Other Primary	- 44.	- 333.	- 129.	+ 154.
Craftsmen	+ 17.	- 80.	+ 110.	+ 116.
Labourers	+ 98.	+ 387.	+ 51.	- 41.

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 3, Tabulation 8, Parts I and II

* Excluding categories of Farmers and Not stated.

managerial and professional level for those of British and other origins. For British, French and other origins alike all the differentials are positive, and sometimes moderately large, in the managerial, professional, sales, and service and recreation categories, which suggests that bilingualism in these sectors may produce tangible monetary advantages. On the other hand, some negative values are encountered too, and the overall pattern for all occupations is somewhat mixed.

From the standpoint of the working world, then, the 1961 census data do not point very clearly towards any special role for bilinguals in the life of the capital area. Bilinguals are not notably concentrated in areas either of administrative responsibility or of public contact. Their income advantages tend, with a few exceptions, to be rather small, and sometimes even negative. In any case bilingualism appears to play a smaller part in accounting for income differentials than do factors such as sex¹ education, occupation, and ethnic origin.

On balance it must be concluded that bilingualism was not a major determinant of employment income in the Ottawa metropolitan area labour force at the time of the 1961 census. Rather it tended to be an accidental characteristic, seemingly irrelevant to most areas of the working world. This may simply mean that in the circumstances then prevailing the demand for bilinguals in the labour market was less than the supply, so that language skills as such could command little or no premium. This is not to say, however, that this will be a permanent characteristic of the labour

1. Compare, for example, the average incomes of bilinguals of British origin and bilinguals of French origin in Appendix Tables ~~5-3~~_Q and ~~5-3~~_R.

7-3
market of the capital. Both the place of bilinguals in the occupational structure and their relative remuneration might change significantly as a result of any major change in public policy with respect to language.

Conclusion. To sum up the broad conclusions that emerge from the section as a whole, the population of the capital is at present one of the most highly bilingual ones in the country, and it has been so for some time. Those of French origin are considerably more bilingual than the population of British and other origins. This same pattern is also to be found within the labour force, although the labour force as a whole has a higher level of knowledge of the two official languages than has the general population. What this means in practical terms is that the working population has language resources considerably superior to the Canadian average. The data on average incomes of bilinguals and others suggest that the demand for bilinguals in the capital has not yet created any significant pressure upon the supply, and that language skills in the past have commanded no significant premium in the labour market. In terms of the existing labour force of the federal capital area, there may well be a considerably greater potential for serving the public in both languages than has yet been utilized.

APPENDIX I

Tables A - R

Tableau A

La population du Canada et des principales zones
métropolitaines par langue maternelle, 1961
(200,000 et plus de population)

Régions	Population	Langue maternelle		
		anglais	français	autres
Canada	18,238,247	10,660,534	5,123,151	2,454,562
Ottawa	429,750	239,287	161,980	28,483
Montréal	2,109,509	494,667	1,366,357	284,485
Toronto	1,824,481	1,398,285	25,988	400,208
Vancouver	790,165	648,109	13,334	128,722
Winnipeg	475,989	323,378	27,882	124,722
Hamilton	395,189	315,933	5,988	73,258
Québec	357,568	13,404	341,197	2,967
Edmonton	337,568	242,772	11,201	83,595
Calgary	279,062	229,044	3,693	46,325

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

Tableau II

Distribution au Québec de la population par
langue maternelle, Canada et zone métropolitaine
d'Ottawa, 1961 1

Langue maternelle	Canada	Ottawa
Total	18,238,247	429,750
Anglais	10,660,534	239,247
Français	5,123,151	161,980
Allemand	563,713	6,064
Ukrainien	361,496	1,900
Italien	339,626	6,739
Hollandais	170,177	2,482
Indien & Esquimaux	166,531	64
Polonais	161,720	2,132
Scandinave	116,714	765
Roumain	85,939	1,008
Yiddish	82,448	1,343
Autres	406,198	5,966

1. Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

Tableau C

Distribution numérique de la population selon
la langue maternelle, côté ontarien, côté québécois ¹
de la zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Langue maternelle	Z.M.	Ontario	Québec
Anglais	239,287	225,845	13,442
Français	161,980	80,084	81,896
Autres	28,483	26,970	1,513
Total	429,750	332,899	96,851

1. Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961.
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

TABLE D.1.

Distribution de la population selon la langue maternelle, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961.

Langue maternelle	Zone métropo- litaine		Ottawa		Hull		Eastview		Nepean		Clouester		Gatineau		Pte Gatineau		Aylmer		Incarme		Templeton		Deschênes		Rockcliffe		Templeton Quest	
	N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N		N	
Total	429,750		268,206		56,929		24,555		19,753		18,301		13,022		8,854		6,286		5,762		2,965		2,090		2,084		943	
Anglais	239,287		188,072		4,648		8,355		17,684		9,962		1,522		264		2,600		3,011		426		620		1,772		351	
Français	161,980		56,882		51,370		14,976		760		7,249		11,348		8,536		3,516		2,598		2,526		1,418		217		534	
Autres	28,483		23,252		911		1,224		1,309		1,090		152		54		170		153		13		52		95		8	
Allemand	6,084		4,606		113		326		453		426		23		*													
Italien	6,739		6,337		131		100		79		43		21															
Néerlandais	2,482		1,557		42		121		388		225		1															
Polonais	2,132		1,788		29		105		75		107		6															
Yiddish	1,343		1,099		125		75		15		8		1															
Scandinave	765		577		29		32		41		59		5															
Ukrainien	1,900		1,561		31		100		103		83		4															
Autres	7,038		5,727		411		365		155		139		91															

Source: Recensement du Canada de 1961

Catalogue: 92-549

Bulletin: 1.2-9

* Non disponible.

TABLE D.2

Distribution procentuelle de la population selon la langue maternelle, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961.

Langue maternelle	Zone métropo- litaine	Ottawa	Hull	Eastview	Nepan	Gloucester	Gatineau	Pte Gatineau	Aylmer	Lucerne	Templeton	Deschênes	Rockcliffe	Templeton Ouest
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Anglais	55.7	70.1	8.2	34.0	89.5	54.4	11.7	3.0	41.3	52.2	14.3	30.0	85.0	37.2
Français	37.7	21.2	90.2	61.0	3.8	39.6	87.1	96.4	56.0	45.1	85.2	68.0	10.4	61.9
Autres	6.6	8.7	1.6	5.0	6.7	6.0	1.2	0.6	2.7	2.7	0.5	2.0	4.6	0.9
Allemand	1.4	1.7	0.2	1.3	2.3	2.3	0.2	**						
Italien	1.6	2.4	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3							
Néerlandais	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.5	2.0	1.2	0.0*							
Polonais	0.5	0.7	0.0*	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.0							
Yiddish	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0*							
Scandinave	0.2	0.2	0.0*	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0*							
Ukrainien	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.0*							
Autres	1.6	2.1	0.6	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.7							

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961

Cataloque: 92.549

Bulletin: 1.2-9

* Moins de 0.05%.

** Non disponible.

Tableau E

Distribution de la population selon l'origine ethnique et la langue officielle, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Origine ethnique			Langue officielle			
Groupe ethnique	Nombre	Total	Anglais seulement	Français seulement	Anglais et Français	ni l'un ni l'autre
		%	%	%	%	%
Total	429,750	100.0	55.0	13.2	30.8	1.0
Britannique	189,227	100.0	89.7	0.5	9.6	0.2
Français	175,374	100.0	8.6	31.0	60.1	0.3
Allemand	12,300	100.0	88.1	1.1	9.2	1.3
Italien	9,094	100.0	63.0	2.9	13.6	20.4
Néerlandais	5,585	100.0	89.3	0.3	8.5	1.9
Polonais	4,243	100.0	84.4	0.8	12.3	2.4
Juif	3,649	100.0	83.7	0.1	16.0	0.2
Scandinave	3,318	100.0	90.2	0.6	8.9	0.4
Ukrainien	2,985	100.0	86.8	0.6	10.3	2.3
Russe	1,449	100.0	81.7	1.1	16.0	1.2
Autres Européens	8,715	100.0	72.2	3.2	17.0	7.5
Asiatiques	3,537	100.0	76.9	0.9	13.1	9.1
Autres	10,274	100.0	73.7	5.3	20.5	0.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1961
 Catalogue: 92-561
 Bulletin: 1-3-10

Tableau F

Distribution de la population par origine
ethnique selon la langue maternelle, 1961*

Régions	Origine ethnique	Population		Langue maternelle			
		Nombre	%	Anglais	Français	Sa propre langue	Autres
			%	%	%	%	%
Z.M. d'Ottawa	britannique	189,227	100.0	97.3	2.3	.07	0.3
	française	175,374	100.0	11.9	87.7	-	0.4
Ville d'Ottawa	britannique	148,129	100.0	98.3	1.4	.06	0.3
	française	68,459	100.0	22.1	77.3	-	0.6
Cité de Hull	britannique	4,457	100.0	73.9	25.2	0.07	0.8
	française	50,908	100.0	1.8	97.9	-	0.3

Source: Recensement du Canada 1961
Catalogue: 92-561
Bulletin: 1.3-10

* Ces données ne sont pas disponibles pour la Cité d'Eastview

Tableau G

Distribution ethnique de la population de la ville
d'Ottawa: 1871-1961

Origine ethnique	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	21,545 100.0	27,412 100.0	37,269 100.0	59,928 100.0	87,062 100.0	107,843 100.0	126,872 100.0	154,951 100.0	202,045 100.0	268,200 100.0
Britannique %	14,064 65.3	17,440 63.6	n.d. n.d.	37,335 62.3	52,734 60.6	68,215 63.3	78,512 61.9	94,112 60.7	121,716 60.2	148,129 55.2
française	7,214 33.5	9,384 34.2	12,790* 34.3	19,495 32.5	26,732 30.7	30,442 28.2	37,465 29.5	48,081 31.0	57,399 28.4	68,459 25.5
Autre	267 1.2	588 2.2	n.d. n.d.	3,098 5.2	7,596 8.7	9,186 8.5	10,895 8.6	12,758 8.3	22,930 11.4	51,610 19.2

Sources: see p. 1-94.

* Ce chiffre est approximatif. Sous origine en 1891 les seules catégories étaient "Canadiens-français" et "autres".

Tableau H

*
Distribution ethnique de la population de la cité de Hull:
1881 - 1961

Origine ethnique	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	6,890	11,264	13,993	18,222	24,117	29,433	32,947	43,483	56,929
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Britannique	888	n.d.	1,532	1,577	1,830	2,403	2,106	3,982	4,457
%	12.9	n.d.	10.9	8.7	7.6	8.2	6.4	9.2	7.8
Française	5,933	10,062	12,330	16,416	21,918	26,507	30,541	38,849	50,908
%	86.1	89.3	88.1	90.0	90.9	90.0	92.7	89.3	89.4
Autre	69	n.d.	131	229	369	523	300	652	1,564
%	1.0	n.d.	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.8	0.9	1.5	2.8

Source: S.C.P. 1964

* La cité a été incorporée en 1875 seulement. Pour 1871 les chiffres pour la ville ne sont pas disponibles.

** Ce chiffre est approximatif. Sous origine les seules catégories étaient "Canadiens-français" et "autres".

1.91
Sources pour Tableaux G et H.

- 1871: Recensement du Canada 1870-71
Volume I
p. 428, pp. 276-277, pp. 282-283
- 1881: Recensement du Canada 1880-81
Volume I
p. 406, pp. 264-265, pp. 260-261
- 1891: Recensement du Canada 1891
Volume I
p. 169 et p. 207
- 1901: Recensement du Canada 1901
Volume I
p. 22, pp. 338-339, pp. 390-391
- 1911: Recensement du Canada 1911
Volume II
pp. 372-374
- 1921: Recensement du Canada 1921
Volume I
pp. 542-43
- 1931: Recensement du Canada 1931
Volume II
pp. 495-496
- 1941: Recensement du Canada 1941
Volume IV
pp. 246 et 250
- 1951: Recensement du Canada 1951
Volume I
Tableau 35
- 1961: Recensement du Canada 1961
Catalogue: 92-545
Bulletin: 1.2-5

Tableau 75

Distribution de la population selon l'origine ethnique et la langue maternelle, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Origine ethnique		Langue maternelle			
Groupe ethnique	Nombre	Anglais	Français	Sa propre langue	Total *
Total	429,750	%	%	%	%
Britannique	189,227	97.3	2.3	-	100.0
Français	175,374	11.9	87.7	-	100.0
Allemand	12,300	57.4	3.5	38.4	100.0
Italien	9,094	24.5	3.6	71.3	100.0
Néerlandais	5,585	55.0	1.2	42.6	100.0
Polonais	4,243	46.5	2.4	44.8	100.0
Juif	3,649	74.8	0.1	21.0	100.0
Scandinave	3,318	74.9	2.2	21.4	100.0
Ukrainien	2,935	50.8	2.0	44.6	100.0
Russe	1,449	65.2	2.1	18.6	100.0
Autres Européens	8,715	33.6	7.0	20.8	100.0
Asiatiques	3,537	34.1	2.9	25.4	100.0
Autres	10,274	79.3	18.7	4.5	100.0

* Approximatif (comprend ceux dont la langue maternelle n'est ni le français, ni l'anglais, et ne correspond pas à leur origine).

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

Tableau 3.A K

Distribution procentuelle de la main-d'oeuvre masculine par occupation selon le niveau d'éducation et l'origine ethnique, zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961.

OCCUPATIONS	N I V E A U D ' E D U C A T I O N											
	Primaire			Secondaire 1-2 ans			Secondaire 3-5 ans			Universitaire 1 &		
	Brit.	Fran.	Autres	Brit.	Fran.	Autres	Brit.	Fran.	Autres	Brit.	Fran.	Autres
Origine ethnique	N=8117	N=18,766	N=5699	N=9317	N=9376	N=2815	N=18,150	N=8681	N=5717	N=10,344	N=4040	N=3604
Toutes occupations	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Administrateurs	7.4	5.3	9.3	10.8	7.7	13.4	19.1	13.4	20.8	23.5	18.1	19.3
Prof. libérales et tech.	3.0	1.3	1.4	4.9	3.2	5.9	14.1	10.4	12.7	50.7	12.0	52.8
Employés de bureau	11.7	6.2	3.5	17.6	18.2	15.0	19.3	29.0	13.6	5.6	15.7	5.4
Vendeurs	4.9	4.3	3.3	8.1	7.2	5.3	7.8	8.7	7.9	3.9	5.9	4.4
Trav. des transp. et comm.	13.1	13.7	6.2	9.3	12.5	6.7	3.6	4.0	2.9	0.6	1.4	0.4
Trav. des Services et Activités récréatives	18.8	13.6	16.9	18.9	11.2	15.9	18.3	10.1	16.9	10.8	7.5	9.6
Ouvriers de métier, etc.	30.4	38.5	42.7	23.9	30.1	27.1	13.4	20.0	20.3	1.9	7.3	4.7
Manoeuvres	5.6	13.6	13.1	3.0	7.7	4.3	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.1	0.8	1.0
Agri. & Trav. agricoles	0.2	.07	0.1	0.3	.00	.00	0.1	.05	.09	.00	0.2	0.2
Autres travailleurs du secteur primaire	2.6	1.6	1.6	0.8	0.3	2.5	0.4	0.3	1.2	0.5	0.2	0.3
Non-spécifiées	2.4	1.8	1.9	2.4	1.9	3.9	2.4	2.3	2.2	1.5	1.0	2.1

Source: Tape 3, Table 8, Part I & II, pp. 19-34.

* No schooling category omitted

Tableau L

Distribution de la population par secteur de recensement, par traitements et salaires, par langue maternelle, dans la région métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Secteur de Recensement	Population = 100%	Traitements et salaires*	Langue maternelle anglaise Nombre	Langue maternelle française Nombre	Langue maternelle française %	Langue maternelle autre Nombre
151 Temp. W	943	2,843	351	584	61.9	8
16 Ott	3,432	2,891	667	555	75.3	180
32 Ott	2,292	2,953	1,141	366	37.8	285
102 Hull	5,596	3,006	2,088	218	93.8	140
130 Deschamps	2,090	3,047	620	418	67.8	52
127 Temp.	2,965	3,087	1,266	546	85.2	13
103 Hull	5,208	3,099	2,500	588	93.5	90
101 Hull	7,958	3,104	2,711	619	95.7	68
30 Ott	6,255	3,182	2,177	1,289	20.5	1,754
31 Ott	7,053	3,209	3,558	1,890	26.8	1,606
100 Hull	7,762	3,214	3,550	3,370	95.0	1,142
18 Ott	7,645	3,219	3,773	3,240	77.5	348
19 Ott	5,099	3,246	1,878	900	79.6	161
33 Ott	5,567	3,293	2,342	3,372	56.5	253
23 Ott	4,254	3,308	3,100	690	14.1	554
21 Ott	5,532	3,351	3,786	847	15.3	899
22 Ott	5,404	3,352	3,760	796	10.2	1,095
125 Pré-Gat	8,854	3,375	2,644	549	96.4	54
15 Ott	2,552	3,446	829	533	59.7	199
17 Ott	3,577	3,450	1,277	1,995	55.8	303
105 Hull	7,487	3,457	3,611	1,757	90.2	121
72 Carv	4,353	3,501	3,399	2,259	73.9	197
108 Hull	2,471	3,517	1,677	3,228	91.4	25
29 Ott	4,462	3,527	2,538	928	20.8	996
74 Estr	4,267	3,643	1,023	3,099	72.5	152
131 Aymer	6,286	3,705	2,600	3,516	55.9	170

Tableau L (suite)

Distribution de la population par secteur de recensement, par traitements et salaires, par langue maternelle, dans la région métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Secteur de Recensement	Population = 100%	Traitements et salaires *	Langue maternelle anglaise	Langue maternelle française	Langue maternelle autre
			Nombre	Nombre	Nombre
120 Gtne. a.	13,022	3,804	1,522	11,348	152
4 Ott	2,602	3,819	1,963	1,503	136
34 Ott	6,154	3,851	4,364	1,069	721
73 Ott	6,753	3,857	1,555	4,994	204
106 Hull	7,277	3,890	1,806	6,321	150
12 Ott	2,277	3,926	1,821	6,392	64
20 Ott	3,257	3,926	2,499	500	258
104 Hull	9,287	3,935	1,142	8,055	90
27 Ott	5,669	4,025	4,768	336	565
1 Ott	4,684	4,052	3,623	333	128
11 Ott	4,171	4,053	2,625	246	300
14 Ott	7,479	4,053	3,861	2,758	860
70 Estv	3,926	4,078	1,663	2,004	259
25 Ott	3,353	4,096	2,547	332	374
50 Ott	2,483	4,180	1,961	327	195
5 Ott	5,765	4,191	3,352	213	400
41 Ott	6,129	4,258	3,529	219	231
87 Gloc.	2,022	4,320	3,501	373	148
45 Ott	7,896	4,336	6,368	387	161
71 Estv	5,256	4,345	3,175	119	362
24 Ott	7,112	4,459	5,631	182	593
135 Lucerne	5,762	4,496	3,911	2,198	151
et 150					
			11.7	87.1	1.2
			37.0	57.8	5.2
			70.9	17.4	11.7
			23.0	74.0	3.0
			11.1	86.9	2.2
			80.0	17.2	2.8
			76.7	15.4	7.9
			12.3	86.7	1.0
			84.1	5.9	1.0
			77.4	19.9	1.7
			62.9	30.0	7.1
			51.6	36.9	1.5
			42.4	51.0	6.1
			76.0	12.2	1.8
			79.0	34.9	0.6
			58.1	37.8	4.6
			57.6	18.5	3.1
			74.2	11.2	1.9
			80.7	32.7	6.3
			60.4	12.4	3.4
			79.2	45.1	2.6
			52.3		

Tableau L (suite)

Distribution de la population par secteur de recensement, par traitements et salaires, par langue maternelle, dans la région métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Secteur de Recensement	Population = 100 %	Traitements et salaires*	Langue maternelle anglaise Nombre	Langue maternelle anglaise %	Langue maternelle française Nombre	Langue maternelle française %	Langue maternelle autre Nombre	Langue maternelle autre %
37 Ctt	7,794	4,557	6,291	80.7	872	11.2	631	8.1
13 Ctt	4,824	4,571	2,562	53.1	1,577	32.7	635	14.2
9 Ctt	4,958	4,596	4,368	88.1	236	4.8	354	7.1
44 Ctt	4,069	4,718	3,074	75.2	426	12.1	519	12.7
38 Ctt	9,370	4,770	8,142	86.9	625	6.7	603	6.4
84 Nepean	821	4,778	653	79.5	71	8.7	97	11.8
3 Ctt	4,049	4,928	2,487	61.4	1,284	30.5	328	8.1
26 Ctt	4,831	5,025	4,029	83.4	346	7.2	456	9.4
86 Ctt	5,027	5,094	4,033	53.6	2,023	40.2	311	6.2
2 Ctt	12,480	5,171	8,705	69.8	2,904	23.2	871	7.0
48 Ctt	2,531	5,102	2,011	87.0	1,475	5.8	135	7.2
107 Hull	3,883	5,226	2,023	23.8	1,800	73.5	204	2.7
82 Nepean	2,143	5,253	1,349	36.3	60	4.2	36	5.9
83 Nepean	1,452	5,294	1,106	90.6	60	4.1	105	5.4
49 Ctt	1,959	5,329	1,697	86.0	157	6.2	327	5.9
40 Ctt	1,676	5,332	4,992	87.9	322	4.2	278	7.2
36 Ctt	3,144	5,423	4,785	88.6	333	4.3	404	7.0
81 Nepean	5,920	5,427	5,459	92.2	239	4.1	308	4.4
28 Ctt	5,044	5,618	4,401	87.3	221	17.5	163	4.5
42 Ctt	6,982	5,633	5,456	78.1	226	8.9	172	3.1
7 Ctt	2,528	5,678	2,139	84.6	64	2.7	181	6.6
8 Ctt	2,351	5,758	2,115	94.2	149	3.9	317	3.4
80 Nepean	3,813	5,815	3,483	91.3	600	10.5	791	5.6
10 Ctt	5,682	5,857	4,765	83.9	975	8.3	221	7.8
46 Ctt	11,711	5,868	10,035	85.7	167	3.7		
85 Nepean	2,846	5,895	2,518	88.5				

Tableau L (suite)

Distribution de la population par secteur de recensement, par traitement et salaires, par langue maternelle, dans la région métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

secteur de recensement	Population = 100%	Traitements et salaires*	Langue maternelle anglaise, Nombre	Langue maternelle française, Nombre	Langue maternelle autre Nombre	%
430H	5,077	6,211	4,286	484	307	6.1
350H	4,786	6,657	4,233	281	322	6.7
470H	4,752	6,678	4,268	222	262	5.5
60H	12,886	6,756	10,979	1,288	619	4.8
390H	8,147	6,865	7,584	285	328	4.0
79 Bck. Bck.	2,084	8,326	1,772	217	95	4.6
Total						

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 95-528, Bulletin CT-13.

* main-d'oeuvre masculine seulement.

Table A-B M.

Distribution of federal public servants by mother tongue
within the Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	Total		Mother Tongue					
			English		French		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Metropolitan Area	45,619	100	29,847	100	12,932	100	1,840	100
Total Ontario	38,957	85.4	25,627	95.9	8,526	61.3	1,794	97.5
Ottawa	32,620	71.5	24,570	82.3	6,529	46.9	1,521	82.7
A. East Ottawa Sectors 1-2	1,609	3.5	1,160	3.9	334	2.4	115	6.3
B. North-east Ottawa Sectors 3-4, 16-19	3,424	7.5	1,261	4.2	2,058	14.8	105	5.7
C. East central Ottawa Sectors 11-15	2,885	6.3	1,771	5.9	985	7.1	129	7.0
D. South-east Ottawa Sectors 5-7, 41-43	4,482	9.8	3,511	11.8	734	5.3	237	12.9
E. Central Ottawa Sectors 20-25	4,786	10.5	3,958	13.3	628	4.5	200	10.9
F. West central Ottawa Sectors 30-34	2,705	5.9	1,781	6.0	813	5.8	111	6.0
G. South-west Ottawa Sectors 8-10, 26-29, 44	4,707	10.3	4,070	13.6	399	2.9	238	12.9
H. West Ottawa Sectors 35-40, 45-50	8,022	17.6	7,058	23.6	578	4.1	386	21.0

17
Table 4-7B (Cont'd)

Distribution of federal public servants by mother tongue within the Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Eastview	2,903	6.4	1,237	4.1	1,558	11.2	108	5.9
Other Ontario municipalities *	3,434	7.5	2,820	9.4	449	3.2	165	9.0
Total Quebec	6,662	14.6	1,220	4.1	5,396	38.7	46	2.5
Full	4,525	9.9	553	1.9	3,948	28.3	24	1.3
Other Quebec municipalities **	2,137	4.7	667	2.2	1,448	10.4	22	1.2

Source: Tape 1, tabulation 3. For this tabulation, census sectors in Ottawa and suburban municipalities were put into clusters to reduce the number of categories. A breakdown by individual tracts is not available.

* Gloucester, Nepean and Rockcliffe Park.

** Aylmer, Deschênes, Gatineau, Lucerne, Pointe-Gatineau, Templeton and Templeton West.

Table 4-3

Distribution of federal public servants earning over \$10,000 by mother tongue within the Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	Total		English				French				Other Tongue			
			English		French		English		French		Other			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Metropolitan Area	2,017	100	1,728	100	182	100	107	100						
Total Ontario	1,942	96.2	1,695	98.1	143	78.6	104	97.1						
Ottawa	1,685	83.5	1,473	85.2	127	69.8	85	79.4						
A. East Ottawa Sectors 1-2	118	5.9	104	6.0	7	3.8	7	6.5						
B. North-east Ottawa Sectors 3-4, 16-19	53	2.6	41	2.4	12	6.6	0	-						
C. East Central Ottawa Sectors 11-15	98	4.9	67	3.9	27	14.8	4	3.7						
D. South-east Ottawa Sectors 5-7, 41-43	398	19.7	349	20.2	27	14.8	22	20.6						
E. Central Ottawa Sectors 20-25	105	5.2	91	5.3	10	5.5	4	3.7						
F. West central Ottawa Sectors 30-34	19	0.9	16	0.9	2	1.1	1	0.9						
G. South-west Ottawa Sectors 8-10, 26-29, 44	315	15.6	276	16.0	27	14.8	12	11.2						
H. West Ottawa Sectors 35-40, 45-50	579	28.7	529	30.6	15	8.2	35	32.7						

Table 4.3 (Cont'd)

Distribution of federal public servants earning over \$10,000 by mother tongue within the Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Eastview	15	0.7	6	0.4	5	2.8	4	3.7
Other Ontario * municipalities	242	12.0	216	12.5	11	6.0	15	14.0
Total Quebec	75	3.7	33	1.9	39	21.4	3	2.8
Full	47	2.3	18	1.0	28	15.4	1	0.9
Other Quebec ** municipalities	28	1.4	15	0.9	11	6.0	2	1.9

Source, * and **: see Table 4.B

0
Table 5-A

Incidence of official bilingualism in selected
Canadian municipalities (20,000 et plus), 1961

Villes	Population	Population bilingue	Pourcentage de population bilingue
Ottawa	268,206	66,972	25.0
Hull	56,929	27,944	49.1
Eastview	24,555	12,879	52.4
Sudbury	80,120	23,220	29.0
Sherbrooke	66,554	23,013	29.4
Moncton	43,840	14,160	32.3
Cornwall	43,639	18,996	43.5
St. Boniface	37,600	13,516	36.0
Chomedey	30,445	9,229	30.3
Timmins	29,270	11,445	39.1
Verdun	78,317	30,855	39.4
Lachine	38,630	15,309	39.6
Outremont	30,753	14,222	46.2
Westmount	25,012	10,167	40.6
Ville Mont-Royal	21,182	9,016	42.6

Source: Recensement du Canada, 1961
Catalogue: 92-549
Bulletin: 1.2-9

Table P

Distribution de la population par secteur de recensement par langue officielle dans la région métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961

Secteur de recensement	Population = 100%	Anglais		Français		Les deux		Ni l'une, ni l'autre	
		Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
16 Ott	3,432	624	18.2	49	12.8	2	68.8	2	0.6
19 Ott	5,099	747	14.6	90	18.2	3	66.5	0	0.0
18 Ott	7,645	1,280	16.4	1,318	17.9	3	65.3	0	0.0
72 Estv	4,353	825	19.0	734	16.5	0	62.7	1	1.8
74 Estv	4,267	901	21.1	737	16.7	5	60.3	1	1.3
33 Ott	5,567	1,833	33.1	430	7.3	7	57.4	1	1.1
73 Estv	6,735	1,430	21.1	1,300	20.6	0	55.6	1	1.3
15 Ott	2,552	1,770	31.0	302	12.1	1	55.3	0	0.0
17 Ott	3,577	1,776	34.6	302	9.3	1	55.2	0	0.0
4 Ott	3,602	1,822	33.1	302	11.3	1	55.2	0	0.0
130 Deschênes	2,090	500	25.0	435	20.3	7	54.4	0	0.0
100 Hall	7,762	1,800	2.1	435	4.4	1	53.0	0	0.0
106 Hall	7,277	1,809	8.2	435	39.2	7	51.4	0	0.0
107 Hall	3,883	535	19.4	327	28.4	4	51.4	0	0.0
102 Hall	5,596	1,708	2.1	327	46.0	3	50.4	0	0.0
104 Hall	9,287	1,708	8.3	435	41.3	3	50.4	0	0.0
105 Hall	7,487	1,708	5.0	435	44.0	3	50.4	0	0.0
70 Estv	3,926	1,708	40.7	327	9.6	7	48.9	0	0.0
131 Agincourt	6,286	1,708	34.3	327	17.8	3	47.7	0	0.0
103 Hall	5,206	1,708	2.6	327	55.1	3	47.7	0	0.0
101 Hall	7,958	1,708	1.6	327	48.8	3	47.7	0	0.0
14 Ott	7,479	1,708	52.1	327	4.0	3	43.9	0	0.0
13 Ott	4,824	1,708	52.8	327	4.0	3	42.5	0	0.0
32 Ott	2,292	1,708	52.4	327	4.9	2	39.6	0	0.0
135 Ott	5,762	1,708	45.7	327	14.5	2	39.6	0	0.0
127 Templeton	2,965	1,708	9.0	327	51.4	2	39.6	0	0.0
180 Orléans	13,022	2,200	8.1	327	52.7	2	39.6	0	0.0
125 Pré Galtmain	8,854	1,708	1.8	327	59.5	2	39.6	0	0.0
61 Ott	6,139	1,708	56.5	327	10.3	2	37.4	0	0.0
106 Hall	5,627	1,708	51.7	327	57.3	2	37.4	0	0.0
108 Hall	2,471	1,708	6.2	327	57.3	2	37.4	0	0.0

Table P (cont.)

Facteur de recensement	Population = 100 %	Anglais		Français		Les deux		Ni l'une, ni l'autre	
		Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
5 Off	5,765	3,322	58.0	300	6.2	2,025	35.1	138	7.7
3 Off	4,049	2,318	57.2	259	6.4	1,104	34.9	100	1.0
71 Env	5,256	3,114	59.1	311	6.6	1,171	33.2	140	0.0
11 Off	4,171	2,615	62.7	215	5.4	1,141	29.6	31	0.7
79 Reck. Park	2,064	1,454	68.8	141	5.5	616	29.9	11	1.4
31 Off	7,053	4,152	58.9	313	4.0	2,082	29.0	57	0.7
151 Temp West	943	311	31.9	115	10.0	274	26.6	11	1.3
30 Off	6,255	3,914	63.1	115	2.6	1,177	26.6	13	0.5
29 Off	4,462	2,912	66.2	115	2.2	1,177	26.6	27	0.7
2 Off	12,480	8,528	68.4	603	4.8	3,799	26.0	40	0.5
20 Off	3,257	2,422	75.6	115	0.5	1,177	23.3	17	0.3
34 Off	6,154	4,474	72.7	115	2.2	1,177	22.0	11	0.2
1 Off	4,634	3,547	77.1	115	1.0	1,177	22.0	11	0.2
24 Off	7,112	5,483	77.5	115	2.3	1,177	21.5	11	0.4
12 Off	2,277	1,743	76.5	115	2.0	1,177	21.0	11	0.4
42 Off	6,982	5,290	75.8	115	3.0	1,177	20.8	11	0.3
23 Off	4,254	3,272	76.9	115	0.9	1,177	19.8	11	0.3
21 Off	5,532	4,178	75.5	115	1.8	1,177	19.5	11	0.3
25 Off	3,353	2,633	78.5	115	0.8	1,177	19.4	11	0.3
67 Gloc	2,022	1,594	77.3	115	0.0	1,177	18.7	11	0.3
10 Off	5,682	4,574	80.5	115	1.0	1,177	17.7	11	0.3
44 Off	4,089	3,259	79.9	115	1.7	1,177	16.5	11	0.3
50 Off	2,483	2,016	81.2	115	1.2	1,177	15.3	11	0.3
37 Off	7,704	6,319	81.1	115	1.4	1,177	15.7	11	0.3
6 Off	12,886	10,644	82.6	115	1.1	1,177	15.5	11	0.3
45 Off	7,896	6,509	82.4	115	1.1	1,177	15.3	11	0.3
22 Off	5,404	4,211	78.3	115	1.7	1,177	15.2	11	0.3
26 Off	4,831	3,998	82.8	115	1.3	1,177	14.9	11	0.3
43 Off	5,077	4,227	83.3	115	1.1	1,177	14.7	11	0.3
7 Off	2,528	2,113	84.3	115	1.8	1,177	13.7	11	0.3
46 Off	11,711	9,970	85.5	115	0.6	1,177	13.3	11	0.3
35 Off	4,786	4,101	85.6	115	0.9	1,177	13.2	11	0.3
84 N ^{orth}	821	703	85.6	115	0.6	1,177	12.6	11	0.3
38 Off	9,370	8,162	86.5	115	0.6	1,177	12.6	11	0.3
28 Off	5,044	4,350	85.5	115	0.4	1,177	12.6	11	0.3

Table P (cont.)

Secteur le consent	Population 100%	Anglais		Français		Les deux		Ni l'une, ni l'autre	
		Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
48 0+	2,531	2,222	87.8	12	0.5	294	11.6	3	0.1
40 0+	5,676	4,444	87.1	15	1.1	634	11.5	17	0.3
47 0+	4,752	4,175	87.9	29	0.6	541	11.4	3	0.1
27 0+	5,669	4,183	87.4	35	0.6	639	11.3	64	1.1
9 0+	4,958	4,146	88.4	25	0.5	513	10.3	37	0.8
49 Nepean	1,959	1,46	89.1	12	0.6	201	10.3	1	0.05
35 0+	2,846	2,27	88.8	14	0.5	292	10.3	1	0.05
36 0+	3,144	2,25	89.9	3	0.3	31	9.7	3	0.2
83 Nepean	1,452	1,06	89.9	5	0.3	118	8.2	3	0.2
82 Nepean	2,143	1,952	91.1	5	0.2	133	6.2	3	0.1
80 Nepean	3,813	3,481	91.3	12	0.3	111	8.8	3	0.1
81 Nepean	5,920	5,411	91.4	17	0.3	447	8.8	3	0.1
39 0+	8,147	7,421	91.1	32	0.4	647	8.8	37	0.5
8 0+	2,351	2,155	91.7	4	0.2	184	7.8	3	0.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961
Catalogue 95-528
Bulletin CT-13

Table Q

Total labour force by ethnic origin by official language by level
of schooling by average income, Ottawa metropolitan area, 1961

	Total L.F.		No Schooling		Elementary		H.S. 1 - 2 yrs		H.S. 3 - 5 yrs		University	
	N.	A.I.	N.	A.I.	N.	A.I.	N.	A.I.	N.	A.I.	N.	A.I.
BRITISH	Eng.	4511	67	2167	9,707	3422	12,990	3701	28,422	4260	10,149	7302
	Fr.	3487	-	-	29	3125 x	5	1400 x	54	3875	-	-
	Both	4879	16	3138 x	1,499	3087	1,521	3686	3,104	4434	2,536	7195
	Neither Total	4285 x 4555	5 88	3277 x 2407	- 11,235	- 3377	4 14,520	3400 x 3698	- 31,580	- 4276	5 12,690	6000 x 7280
FRENCH	Eng.	3438	4	2700 x	719	2658	1,092	3087	1,435	3713	253	5530
	Fr.	2348	130	2402	4,364	2262	862	2175	607	2873	162	3511
	Both	3567	186	2141	20,220	3068	12,355	3145	12,934	3770	4,525	6403
	Neither Total	2048 x 3435	4 324	1200 x 2236	21 25,324	2067 x 2917	21 14,330	2195 x 3081	- 14,976	- 3728	- 4,940	- 6263
OTHER	Eng.	3933	71	2365	5,839	3003	3,412	3305	7,416	3940	3,161	6310
	Fr.	2659	-	-	176	2284	18	2022 x	70	2424 x	25	5380 x
	Both	4704	29	1764 x	1,125	3406	676	3100	1,572	4739	1,228	6773
	Neither Total	1874 3993	90 190	1185 1740	673 7,813	1911 2954	45 4,151	2292 x 3254	35 9,063	1309 x 4061	5 4,419	8500 x 6436
TOTAL	Eng.	4332	142	2281	16,265	3240	17,494	3586	37,273	4175	13,563	7038
	Fr.	2377	130	2402	4,569	2273	885	2168	701	2928	187	3760
	Both	3829	231	2169	22,844	3086	14,552	3199	17,610	3972	8,289	6700
	Neither Total	1921 4033	99 602	1302 2110	694 44,372	1915 3041	70 33,001	2326 3375	35 55,619	1309 x 4094	10 22,049	7250 x 6883

Source: Tape 3, Table 8, parts I and II.

x - Not significant in a 20 per cent sample such as this.

TABLE R

Total labor force by ethnic origin by official language by occupation category by average income, Ojawa metropolitan area, 1961.

	Total L.F.		Managerial		Prof. & Tech		Clerical		Sales	
	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.
POLISH	Eng.	61,335	4511	7,995	10,459	6000	18,321	3239	3,957	3681
	Fr.	88	3487	2000x	9	6667	30	2755x		
	Both	8,676	4879	8662	1,733	6296	2,055	3214	661	3847
	Neither	14	4285x		5	6000x	4	3400x		
	Total	70,113	4555	8004	12,206	6043	20,410	3236	4,168	3705
FINNISH	Eng.	3,503	3438	6934	383	4681	1,112	3000	260	3211
	Fr.	6,125	2348	3937	276	2990	467	2470	263	1705
	Both	50,220	3567	6568	4,361	5533	12,714	3021	3,448	3111
	Neither	46	2048x		5		5	1440x	5	2001
	Total	59,894	3435	6517	5,020	5333	14,298	3000	3,976	3022
OTHER	Eng.	19,899	3933	6821	2,917	5455	3,833	2933	1,164	3361
	Fr.	259	2659	4888x	15	8333x	20	1570x	11	2101
	Both	4,630	4704	7945	953	6014	784	3012	313	4205
	Neither	848	1874	8000x						
	Total	25,636	3993	7099	3,885	5604	4,637	2932	1,488	3521
TOTAL	Eng.	84,737	4332	7615	13,759	5848	23,266	3186	5,381	3591
	Fr.	6,472	2377	4000	300	3384	517	2451	274	1721
	Both	63,526	3829	7212	7,047	5786	15,533	3046	4,422	3297
	Neither	908	1921	8000x	5	6000x	9	3211x	5	2001
	Total	155,643	4033	7435	21,111	5793	39,345	3120	10,082	3411

Source: Tape 3, Table 8, parts I and II.

x : Not significant in a 20 per cent sample such as this.

Table R (cont'd)

Serv. & Rep. No.	A.I.	Trans. & Comm.		Farmers		Other primary		Craftsmen etc.		Labourers		Not Stated	
		No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.	No.	A.I.
9,493	4145	2,652	3763	70	4419	362	2655	6,735	4068	980	2202	1,375	374
5	1125x	5	3000x					30	4320x	5	1200x		
1,187	4200	441	3062			67	2259	1,028	3976	179	2660	132	731
10,685	4150	3,098	3662	70	4419	429	2592	7,793	4056	5	3277x	1,507	403
										1,169	2273		
577	2713	207	2546	17	894x	36	1743x	560	3282	50	2455	39	334
1,648	1256	304	2739			100	3534	1,753	3022	940	2278	262	293
7,500	2525	3,960	3220	22	4641x	251	2698	10,958	3716	2,635	2472	769	3200
20	771x	6	3900x					10	3050x				
9,745	2321	4,477	3157	39	3008x	387	2827	13,281	3606	3,625	2421	1,070	3140
3,704	3003	659	3573	5	8160x	198	2497	3,893	3585	740	2405	512	3438
66	1727	5	2224x			5	1300x	90	2852	30	1290x		
686	3389	162	3207	11	2600x	35	2624x	698	3577	130	2298	80	4888
319	1376					5	1500x	322	1889	156	2266	41	2998
4,775	2941	826	3493	16	4338x	243	2470	5,002	3461	1,056	2339	633	3592
13,774	3781	3,518	3656	92	3917	596	2547	11,188	3861	1,770	2294	1,926	3662
1,719	1275	314	2735			105	3428	1,873	3035	975	2242	262	2927
9,373	2803	4,563	3204	33	3961x	353	2606	12,684	3730	2,944	2475	931	3878
339	1347	6	3900x			5	1500x	332	1924	161	2297	41	2998
25,205	3222	8,401	3376	125	3929	1,059	2650	26,077	3713	5,850	2377	3,210	3662

ETUDE DE L'INFLUENCE DE CERTAINS FACTEURS SUR
LES DISPARITES DES REVENUS DE TRAVAIL ENTRE
BRITANNIQUES ET FRANCAIS, ZONE METROPOLITAINE
D'OTTAWA, 1961.*

Le but de ce travail est d'étudier dans quelle mesure la disparité des revenus de travail (1) est influencée par les facteurs suivants: l'éducation, la structure occupationnelle, la structure industrielle et l'âge. La méthode utilisée est une méthode d'analyse itérative (2).

1. La méthode utilisée.

On se propose de développer une formule qui nous permet de mesurer l'influence d'un facteur spécifique sur l'écart entre les revenus moyens de travail des Britanniques et des Français.

Soit un ensemble J de n facteurs ($j = 1, \dots, n$). Chaque facteur j peut être classifié selon un ensemble I_j de m_j catégories ($i = 1, \dots, m_j$) qui ventilent la main-d'oeuvre de chaque groupe ethnique en fonction de ce facteur.

Soient

Y^B : le revenu moyen (de travail) des Britanniques (hommes seulement)
 Y^F : le revenu moyen (de travail) des Français (hommes seulement)

Note 1 : Hommes seulement.

Note 2 : Cette méthode a été utilisée dans une analyse de la disparité de revenus entre les différents groupes ethniques de la région métropolitaine de Montréal. Voir A. Raynauld, G. Marion et R. Béland, La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada, Rapport de recherche préparé pour la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, août 1966, pp. 8.50-8.92.

* M.
These calculations were prepared by André Darsony under the general direction of Prof. André Raynauld, University of Montreal.

$Y_{i,j}$: le revenu moyen des personnes appartenant à la catégorie i du facteur j .

$N_{i,j}$: la proportion de la main d'oeuvre appartenant à la catégorie i du facteur j .

Les indices supérieurs B et F attachés à un symbole désignent les Britanniques et les Français respectivement ($Y_{i,j}^B$, $Y_{i,j}^F$, $N_{i,j}^B$ et $N_{i,j}^F$).

On a les relations évidentes :

$$\sum_{i=1}^{mj} N_{i,j} = 1 \quad \text{pour chaque facteur } j$$

$$Y^B = \sum_{i=1}^{mj} Y_{i,j}^B N_{i,j}^B \quad \text{pour chaque facteur } j \quad - - - (1.1)$$

$$Y^F = \sum_{i=1}^{mj} Y_{i,j}^F N_{i,j}^F \quad \text{pour chaque facteur } j$$

L'écart de revenu moyen de travail entre les deux groupes ethniques s'écrit :

$$Y^B - Y^F = \sum_{i=1}^{mj} Y_{i,j}^B N_{i,j}^B - \sum_{i=1}^{mj} Y_{i,j}^F N_{i,j}^F \quad \text{pour chaque facteur } j \quad - - - (1.2)$$

On définit les relations suivantes :

$$dY_{i,j} = Y_{i,j}^B - Y_{i,j}^F$$

$$dN_{i,j} = N_{i,j}^B - N_{i,j}^F$$

Il résulte que la formule (1.2) peut s'écrire (1):

$$Y^B - Y^F = \sum_{i=1}^{l,j} dY_{i,j} N_{i,j}^F + \sum_{i=1}^{l,j} dN_{i,j} Y_{i,j}^F + \sum_{i=1}^{m,j} dY_{i,j} dN_{i,j} \text{ pour chaque } j \text{ --- (1.3)}$$

Le membre gauche de l'équation (1.3) indique la différence qui existe entre le revenu moyen des Britanniques et celui des Français, alors que le membre droit indique les sources de cette différence:

- a) $\sum_{i=1}^{m,j} dY_{i,j} N_{i,j}^F$ est l'effet attribuable à la différence de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques à l'intérieur de chaque catégorie i du facteur j envisagé. En d'autres termes, l'effet de revenu explique la différence de revenu qui existerait même si les Britanniques avaient la même structure de main d'oeuvre que les Français, selon le facteur envisagé.
- b) $\sum_{i=1}^{m,j} dN_{i,j} Y_{i,j}^F$ est l'effet attribuable à la différence de structure entre les main d'oeuvres des deux groupes ethniques selon le facteur j envisagé. En d'autres termes, l'effet de structure explique la différence de revenu qui existerait même si les Britanniques avaient les mêmes revenus que les Français dans chaque catégorie i du facteur envisagé.

Note 1 : En effet, on n'a qu'à additionner d'une part les membres de gauche et d'autre part les membres de droite des équations suivantes:

$$\sum_i dY_{i,j} N_{i,j}^F = \sum_i (Y_{i,j}^B - Y_{i,j}^F) N_{i,j}^F = \sum_i Y_{i,j}^B N_{i,j}^F - \sum_i Y_{i,j}^F N_{i,j}^F$$

$$\sum_i dN_{i,j} Y_{i,j}^F = \sum_i (N_{i,j}^B - N_{i,j}^F) Y_{i,j}^F = \sum_i N_{i,j}^B Y_{i,j}^F - \sum_i N_{i,j}^F Y_{i,j}^F$$

$$\sum_i dY_{i,j} dN_{i,j} = \sum_i (Y_{i,j}^B - Y_{i,j}^F) (N_{i,j}^B - N_{i,j}^F) = \sum_i Y_{i,j}^B N_{i,j}^B - \sum_i Y_{i,j}^F N_{i,j}^B - \sum_i Y_{i,j}^B N_{i,j}^F + \sum_i Y_{i,j}^F N_{i,j}^F$$

c) $\sum_{i=1}^{mj} dY_{i,j} dN_{i,j}$ est l'influence jointe attribuable à la différence de revenu et de structure. L'influence jointe étant plus difficile à interpréter, il faut faire quelques hypothèses. Si l'effet de structure est positif, alors les $dN_{i,j}$ sont positifs dans les catégories de revenus élevés et négatifs dans les catégories de bas revenus car on a $\sum_{i=1}^{mj} dN_{i,j} = 0$. Si de plus $dY_{i,j} \geq 0$ pour tout i (1), alors une influence jointe positive implique des écarts de revenu dans les catégories à revenus élevés, plus importants que ceux dans les catégories à bas revenus. Dans ces conditions, on peut dire que l'influence jointe montre dans quelle mesure les Français dans les catégories à revenus élevés sont défavorisés par rapport aux Français dans les catégories à bas revenus dans les comparaisons avec les revenus des Britanniques.

2. L'analyse de l'influence de certains facteurs sur les disparités de revenus.

Dans la zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa en 1961, le revenu moyen de travail (hommes seulement) des Britanniques est de \$ 5,504 et le revenu moyen de travail (hommes seulement) des Français est de \$ 4,008. L'écart de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques est de \$ 1,496 en faveur des Britanniques (1). Les caractéristiques de l'offre de travail des Britanniques et des Français diffèrent quant aux différents facteurs envisagés. On cherche à évaluer successivement l'écart de revenu qui est attribuable à des différences dans la scolarité, la structure occupationnelle, la structure indus-

Note 1 : Cette hypothèse est évidemment restrictive.

Note 2 : Dans les considérations qui suivent cet écart varie très légèrement et de façon négligeable selon le facteur envisagé à cause de la méthode de calcul.

trielle et l'âge.

2.1 L'influence de la scolarité

En utilisant la méthode décrite précédemment pour l'étude de l'influence de la scolarité (i.e. en fixant $j = s$), on arrive aux résultats suivants:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{ms} dN_{i,s} Y_{i,s}^F : \$ 644.54 \quad (43.04 \%)$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{ms} dY_{i,s} N_{i,s}^F : \$ 722.91 \quad (48.28 \%)$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{ms} dY_{i,s} dN_{i,s} : \$ 129.94 \quad (8.68 \%)$$

$$\text{différence totale: } \$ 1,497.39 \quad (100. \%)$$

Le tableau 1 illustre la méthode de calcul. La colonne 8 du tableau indique que \$ 644.54 (soit 43.04 %) de l'écart existant entre les revenus des Britanniques et des Français est attribuable à la scolarité plus faible des Français. La colonne 7 du tableau indique que même si les niveaux de scolarité étaient les mêmes chez les Français et les Britanniques, il existerait encore une différence de \$ 722.91 (soit 48.28 %) entre les revenus des deux groupes ethniques. L'influence jointe est de \$ 129.94 (soit 8.68 %).

TABEAU I. Niveau de scolarité et différence de revenu de travail entre Britanniques et Français. Zone métropolitaine d'Ottawa, 1961.

	BRITANNIQUES		FRANCAIS			(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)						
	Revenus moyens $Y^B_{i,s}$	Pourcenta- ge de m.Q. $N^B_{i,s}$	Revenus moyens $Y^F_{i,s}$	Pourcenta- ge de m.O. $N^F_{i,s}$	$dY_{i,s}$	$dN_{i,s}$	$dY^F_{i,s}$	$dN^F_{i,s}$	$dY_{i,s}$	$dN_{i,s}$
Scolarité										
Aucune	2688	0.0013	2481	0.0060	207	-0.0047	1.2420	-11.6607	-	0.9729
Elémentaire 1 +	3928	0.1765	3385	0.4564	543	-0.2799	247.8252	-947.4615	-151.9857	
Secondaire 1-2	4394	0.2026	3615	0.2280	779	-0.0254	177.6120	- 91.8210	- 19.7866	
Secondaire 3-5	5354	0.3946	4462	0.2111	892	0.1835	188.3012	818.7770	163.6820	
Universitaire 1 +	8023	0.2249	6925	0.0983	1098	0.1266	107.9334	876.7050	139.0068	
Total	5504	0.9999	4008	0.9998		0.0001	722.9138	644.5388	129.9436	

2.2 L'influence de la structure occupationnelle

La structure occupationnelle est le deuxième facteur que l'on retient pour l'explication de l'écart de revenu. On se propose d'évaluer la partie de l'écart qui est attribuable à la différence entre les structures occupationnelles des Français et des Britanniques.

On obtient les résultats suivants:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{mo} dN_{i,o} Y_{i,o}^F : \$ 639.35 \quad (42.75 \%)$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{mo} dY_{i,o} N_{i,o}^F : \$ 682.20 \quad (45.61 \%)$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{mo} dY_{i,o} dN_{i,o} : \$ 173.91 \quad (11.63 \%)$$

$$\text{différence totale} : \$ 1,495.46 \quad (100 \%)$$

Il résulte que \$ 639.35 (soit 42.75 %) de l'écart existant entre les revenus des Britanniques et des Français est attribuable à la structure occupationnelle défavorable des Français. Même si les structures occupationnelles des deux groupes ethniques étaient identiques, il existerait encore une différence de revenu de \$ 682.20 (soit 45.61 %) entre les Britanniques et les Français.

2.3 L'influence de la scolarité et de la structure occupationnelle par classification croisée.

La scolarité et la structure occupationnelle étant des facteurs

explicatifs corréliés, leur influence totale n'est pas la somme de leurs effets particuliers.

La classification croisée par groupes occupationnels et niveaux de scolarité permet l'élimination du problème que présente la collinéarité entre les facteurs. De plus, la ventilation des groupes occupationnels selon les niveaux de scolarité compense en partie la faible spécification de la classification occupationnelle.

La méthode utilisée est la même sauf que dans ce cas l'indice i parcourt tout le domaine de la classification croisée. Si on fixe $j = so$ alors m_{so} sera égal au nombre de catégories occupationnelles multiplié par le nombre des niveaux de scolarité.

On obtient les résultats suivants:

$\sum_{i=1}^{m_{so}} dN_{i,so} Y_{i,so}^F$:	\$ 932.72	(62.36 %)
$\sum_{i=1}^{m_{so}} dY_{i,so} N_{i,so}^F$:	\$ 470.92	(31.48 %)
$\sum_{i=1}^{m_{so}} dY_{i,so} dN_{i,so}$:	\$ 92.13	(6.16 %)
différence totale	:	\$ 1,495.77	(100 %)

Ces résultats montrent que \$ 932.72 (soit 62.36 %) de l'écart existant entre les revenus des Britanniques et des Français est attribuable aux différences entre d'une part, la scolarité et la structure occupation-

nelle des Britanniques et d'autre part, la scolarité et la structure occupationnelle des Français.

En étudiant les effets des deux facteurs séparément, on est arrivé à la conclusion que les différences de scolarité et de structure occupationnelle expliquent respectivement \$ 644.54 et \$ 639.35 de l'écart de revenu entre les Britanniques et les Français. Etant donné que la scolarité et la structure occupationnelle sont corréliées, leur influence totale n'est que de \$ 932.72 lorsqu'on l'évalue par la classification croisée.

D'autre part, même si les niveaux de scolarité et les structures occupationnelles étaient les mêmes chez les Français et les Britanniques, il existerait encore une différence de \$ 470.92 (soit 31.48 %) entre les revenus des deux groupes ethniques. L'influence jointe est de \$ 92.13 (soit 6.16 %).

2.4 L'influence de la structure industrielle

En utilisant la même méthode, on se propose de mesurer l'influence de la structure industrielle en ayant retenu neuf groupes industriels.

On obtient les résultats suivants:

$\sum_{i=1}^{m_t} dN_{i,t} Y_{i,t}^F$:	\$ 113.47	(7.59 %)
$\sum_{i=1}^{m_t} dY_{i,t} N_{i,t}^F$:	\$ 1,295.08	(86.61 %)
$\sum_{i=1}^{m_t} dY_{i,t} dN_{i,t}$:	\$ 86.71	(5.79 %)
différence totale	:	\$ 1,495.26	(100 %)

Il résulte que la différence entre les structures industrielles des Britanniques et des Français n'explique que \$ 113.47 (soit 7.59 %) de l'écart de revenu existant entre les deux groupes ethniques. Même si les structures industrielles des deux groupes ethniques étaient identiques, il existerait encore une différence de revenu de \$ 1,295.08 (soit 86.61 %). L'influence jointe est de \$ 86.71 (soit 5.79 %).

2.5 L'influence de la structure occupationnelle et de la structure industrielle par classification croisée.

La structure occupationnelle et la structure industrielle étant des facteurs explicatifs corrélés, en utilisant la classification croisée on arrive aux résultats suivants:

$\sum_{i=1}^{mot} dN_{i,ot} Y_{i,ot}^F$:	\$ 710.93	(47.62 %)
$\sum_{i=1}^{mot} dY_{i,ot} N_{i,ot}^F$:	\$ 511.99	(34.29 %)
$\sum_{i=1}^{mot} dY_{i,ot} dN_{i,ot}$:	\$ 270.15	(18.09 %)
différence totale	:	\$1,493.07	(100 %)

En étudiant les effets des deux facteurs séparément, on a trouvé que les différences de structure occupationnelle et de structure industrielle expliquent respectivement \$ 639.35 et \$ 113.47 de l'écart de revenu entre les Britanniques et les Français. A cause de la corrélation leur influence totale n'est que de \$ 710.93 (soit 47.62 %). Toutefois, la corrélation apparaît comme étant relativement faible. D'autre part, même pour des struc-

tures occupationnelles et industrielles identiques il existerait une différence de \$ 511.99 (soit 34.29 %) entre les revenus des deux groupes ethniques. L'influence jointe est de \$ 270.15 (soit 18.09 %).

2.6 L'influence de l'âge

La classification des revenus selon les groupes d'âge dans les données disponibles a été faite à partir des revenus totaux, alors que jusqu'ici on a utilisé les revenus de travail. Pour cette raison, l'écart de revenu est significativement différent par rapport aux cas précédents. Cette différence ne crée pas des inconvénients dans les comparaisons portant sur l'ensemble des facteurs, car on fera les adaptations à partir des pourcentages.

On obtient les résultats suivants:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{m_a} dN_{i,a} Y_{i,a}^F : \$ 170.22 \quad (10.75 \%)$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{m_a} dY_{i,a} N_{i,a}^F : \$ 1,268.02 \quad (80.11 \%)$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^{m_a} dY_{i,a} dN_{i,a} : \$ 144.53 \quad (9.13 \%)$$

$$\text{différence totale:} \quad \$ 1,582.77 \quad (100 \%)$$

La différence entre les pyramides d'âge des Britanniques et des Français explique \$ 170.22 (soit 10.75 %) de l'écart de revenu existant entre les deux groupes ethniques. Même si les pyramides d'âge des deux groupes ethniques étaient identiques, il existerait un écart de revenu de

\$ 1,268.02 (soit 80.11 %). L'influence jointe est de \$ 144.53 (soit 9.13 %).

2.7 L'influence du degré d'emploi.

En plus des facteurs envisagés, le degré d'emploi peut expliquer l'écart de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques. Toutes autres choses égales par ailleurs, un taux de chômage plus élevé chez un groupe ethnique se traduit par un revenu moindre que celui d'un autre groupe ethnique.

Une estimation faite à partir des taux de chômage par niveau de scolarité au Canada en 1960 (1), montre que l'écart entre le taux de chômage des Français et des Britanniques est 3.3 % au Canada. Dans le cas étudié, ce pourcentage réduit le revenu des Français par rapport à celui des Britanniques d'approximativement \$ 137.00.

2.8 Considérations sur l'influence de l'ensemble des facteurs.

L'ensemble des résultats est résumé dans le tableau suivant:

TABLEAU 2 Influence de certains facteurs sur la disparité des revenus entre les Britanniques et les Français, Ottawa, 1961.

Facteurs	$\sum dN_{i,j} Y_{i,j}^F$	$\sum dY_{i,j} N_{i,j}^F$	$\sum dY_{i,j} dN_{i,j}$
1. Scolarité	\$ 644.54	\$ 722.91	\$ 129.94
2. Occupation	639.35	682.20	173.91
3. Scolarité-occupation	932.72	470.92	92.13
4. Industries	113.47	1,295.08	86.71
5. Occupation-industries	710.93	511.99	270.15
6. Age (2)	160.82	1,198.45	136.58
7. Degré d'emploi	~ 137.00		

Note 1 : op. cit. page 8.69.

Note 2 : Valeurs corrigées pour le revenu de travail à partir du revenu total.

L'écart de revenu moyen entre les deux groupes ethniques est de \$ 1,496.00 en faveur des Britanniques. Les différences entre d'une part, la scolarité et la structure occupationnelle des Britanniques et d'autre part, la scolarité et la structure occupationnelle des Français expliquent 62.36 % (soit \$ 932.72) de cet écart.

Les évaluations précédentes ont montré que la structure industrielle est un facteur qui est peu corrélié avec la structure occupationnelle. Tout en soulignant que c'est une évaluation légèrement excessive, on retient 7.59 % (soit \$ 113.47) comme l'influence de la structure industrielle.

En faisant l'hypothèse d'absence de collinéarité entre les facteurs retenus, on peut procéder à une sommation de leurs influences sur l'écart de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques. On utilise les lignes 3, 4, 6 et 7 du tableau 2.

L'influence totale des facteurs explicatifs retenus sur l'écart de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques est la suivante:

scolarité - structure occupationnelle :	\$ 932.72	\$ 62.36 %
structure industrielle :	\$ 113.47	\$ 7.59 %
âge :	\$ 160.82	\$ 10.75 %
degré d'emploi :	\sim <u>\$ 137.00</u>	<u>\$ 9.16 %</u>
total :	\$1,344.01	\$ 89.86 %

Il résulte que même si les scolarités, les structures occupationnelles, les structures industrielles, les pyramides d'âge et les degrés d'emploi des Britanniques et Français étaient identiques, il existerait un écart de revenu de \$ 151.99 (soit 10.14 %) entre les deux groupes ethniques. Donc

les différences inhérentes aux facteurs explicatifs expliquent \$ 1,344.01 (soit 89.86 %) de l'écart de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques.

Le tableau 3 compare l'influence des facteurs explicatifs à Ottawa, Montréal et Toronto.

TABLEAU 3 L'influence des facteurs explicatifs retenus sur l'écart de revenu entre les Britanniques et les Français. Ottawa, Montréal et Toronto, 1961 (1).

Facteurs	Ottawa	Montréal	Toronto
a. scolarité - structure occupationnelle	62.36 %	45.1 %	44.1 %
b. structure industrielle	7.59 %	12.1 %	4.4 %
c. âge	10.75 %	5.9 %	16.1 %
d. degré d'emploi	<u>9.16 %</u>	<u>6.3 %</u>	<u>13.0 %</u> (2)
Total	89.86 %	69.4 %	77.6 %

Cette comparaison montre que l'influence totale des facteurs explicatifs retenus est plus élevée à Ottawa qu'à Montréal ou à Toronto. On remarque que ce phénomène s'explique par l'influence relativement forte du facteur "scolarité - structure occupationnelle" sur l'écart de revenu entre les deux groupes ethniques à Ottawa.

Note 1 : Source: colonnes 2 et 3: op. cit. pp. 8.73-74.

Note 2 : Estimation faite à partir des taux de chômage par niveau de scolarité selon les groupes ethniques, op. cit. page 8.69.

Table of Contents

	Page
Table of Contents	2.ii
List of Tables	2.iii
I Introduction	2.1
II Provincial Government and the Citizen	2.5
1. Ontario	2.5
(a) Provincial law	2.5
(b) Language usage	2.8
(c) Provincial public servants	2.17
2. Quebec	2.28
(a) Provincial law	2.28
(b) Language usage	2.30
(c) Provincial public servants	2.39
3. Comparison and Evaluation	2.46
III Provincial Government and the Municipalities	2.50
IV Conclusion	2.63
Appendix 2.1 Bilingual Traffic Signs in Ottawa	2.64

List of Tables

	Page
2.1 Percentage Distribution of Ontario Population (1961) and Provincial Public Servants (1961 and 1966) by Mother Tongue	2.18
2.2 Ontario Public Servants, Mother Tongue by Official Language, 1961	2.19
2.3 Language Capabilities of Ontario Public Servants in the Ottawa Area, 1966	2.23
2.4 Language Usage of Quebec Public Servants, 1965	2.33
2.5 Percentage Distribution of Quebec Population and Provincial Public Servants by Mother Tongue, 1961	2.39
2.6 Quebec Public Servants, Mother Tongue by Official Language, 1961	2.40

I INTRODUCTION

Having described the physical setting and the people of the federal capital, we now turn in this and the next three chapters to an examination of the governments active in the area. To talk of the National Capital Region or the Ottawa metropolitan area is perhaps to give a false sense of administrative unity to the capital area. It must be remembered that some 72 municipalities fall within the Region (13 of which form the metropolitan area), that two provinces exercise jurisdiction over it, and that the federal government plays a not inconsiderable role as well. The government and administration of the capital area is, then, a complex affair. In these four chapters, we shall attempt to sort out the respective jurisdictions of the municipal, provincial and federal authorities and to describe in some detail the language practices of each.

This chapter is concerned with the two provinces, Ontario and Quebec, whose influence in the capital area is pervasive. To some it might perhaps have seemed more logical to have commenced a study of government and inter-governmental relations in the capital with either the federal or local authorities, rather than with the provincial governments. Yet municipalities in Canada cannot be seen apart from the provinces in which they are situated, and also the situation in the Ottawa area requires some prior consideration of the

local municipalities if the federal role therein is to be appreciated. Thus the actualities of Canadian government and politics point towards a treatment of first the provincial factor, then the local administrations, and finally the federal government.

The basic delineation of provincial powers is provided by the British North America Act. Sections 92 and 93 of the Act need not be produced in full here, although, as we are primarily concerned with the influence of the provinces on the capital area, the articles having to do with local affairs may be noted. Section 93 relating to education clearly falls within this category, as do eight of the 16 subsections to section 92. There are:

- 92(2) Direct taxation for provincial purposes;
- 92(7) Hospitals;
- 92(8) Municipal institutions;
- 92(9) Licenses for raising revenues for provincial, local or municipal purposes;
- 92(10) Local works and undertakings;
- 92(13) Property and civil rights;
- 92(14) Administration of justice; and
- 92(16) Generally, all local or private matters.

Not all of these areas are administered in the same way, for the province may choose to delegate some of its powers to another body. In the first part of this chapter (under the heading, "Provincial Government and the Citizen"), those areas directly administered by the province are studied. These include both provincial statutes which speak straight to the individual citizen and also programmes administered by the various government departments. The following section, "Provincial Government and the Municipalities", is concerned with the province and the bodies to which it delegates authority, the most important class of which are the municipal corporations.

Data for this study were gathered throughout 1966. The principal source of information was the individual departments of the provincial governments. Most of the Ontario departments were reached, at their request, by means of a written questionnaire sent to Queen's Park. On the Quebec side, telephone interviews with the heads of local government offices were used.

Of the 13 local offices of the Ontario government in the capital area that we approached, 11 returned useable replies. These were Agriculture; Education; Health; the Hospital Services Commission; Highways; Labour; Lands and Forests; the Liquor

Control Board; Public Welfare; Reform Institutions; and Transport. One department did not reply to the questionnaire, while another had no contact with the local population and was excluded from the analysis for this reason. On the Quebec side, 12 local offices were identified and interviewed. These were Agriculture, Family and Social Welfare; Health; Highways; Industry and Commerce; Justice (Probation Service); Labour; Lands and Forests; the Liquor Commission; Revenue; Tourism, Hunting and Fishing; and Transport.

The various aspects of the Ontario Department of the Attorney-General are dealt with in chapter 6 of this study, "The Legal Systems of the Federal Capital Area", with the exception of the Ontario Provincial Police. This body and the Quebec Provincial Police are not included, as police functions within the metropolitan area are largely carried out by the municipal protective services.

II Provincial Government and the Citizen

The practical consequences of living in Ontario or Quebec are for the most part very much the same. An important exception to this, however, lies in the area of provincial linguistic usage. A number of examples will be found, both in this chapter and elsewhere in the study, in which Quebec has used or permitted the use of both English and French, and Ontario, in contrast, has made provision for the English language alone. Because of this dichotomy, the relationship of the citizens of Ontario and Quebec with their respective governments will be considered separately. In both cases, we shall describe: (a) the effect of provincial statutes on the citizen body; (b) the practices of the provincial government departments at both the central and the local level; and (c) the linguistic competence of the provincial public servants with whom the citizen has to deal.

1. Ontario

(a) Provincial law.

A province in its general legislative role permits, requires or prohibits activity by individuals in the province. Examples of this sort of provincial regulation are innumerable: mandatory returns of corporations and

individuals; the form of a registrable conveyance of land or conditional sale contract; the claims of wives and widows against their husbands and their husbands' estates; the regulation of liquor consumption; the rights of parents concerning their children; family matters in general and especially divorce and separation; employment discrimination, fair employment practices and minimum wages; and so on.

Several of these and other areas may be subject to some form of regulation as to the language of their conduct, although there is a wide variation from province to province in this respect. The matters that from time to time have been involved are outlined by C.A. Sheppard:

The language in which the authorities must communicate with citizens or advise the public at large, the language of the official forms and returns the citizen must submit to the authorities; the language in which certain products which are toxic or dangerous must be labelled; all these are frequently regulated by law. Even the linguistic aspects of a number of professional activities can lead to legislation: the language qualifications for the admission to the practice of a given profession; the minimum knowledge of the current language needed for certain trades, particularly those requiring the observance of safety measures as in mining; and the language in which qualifying examinations can or must be passed. Even private activities - when their importance to society at large warrants it - can require linguistic regulation: e.g. the documents, bills of lading and notices issued by public carriers, labour contracts; and trade marks.¹

1. C.A. Sheppard, The Law of Languages in Canada (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.B., 1966), p. 553.

In Ontario, however, the provincial government has taken few steps to legislate on linguistic practice. A few laws have required the use of the English language. For example, the Judicature Act, first passed in 1861, calls for all writs, pleading and proceedings in all Ontario courts to be in the English language, while the Mining Amendment Act, 1961-62, requires certain types of mineworkers to have a sufficient knowledge of English for their work. Some indirect recognition to the French language is accorded in statutes relating to education. The Ontario School Trustees' Council Act, 1960, states that the council shall consist, among others, of representatives of L'Association des commissaires des écoles bilingues d'Ontario.

In a number of cases, while English is not specifically required, it is difficult to see how its use could be avoided. Thus some statutes specify the precise use of certain forms, samples of which are provided only in English. The use of both English and French is nowhere obligatory.

The statutes themselves are always published in English. Very recently some legislation has been translated into French, including the 1965 Act relating to the University of Ottawa. However the French versions in these cases have no legal status.

(b). Language usage.

The degree of French language service varies in the different regions of Ontario. At the central level, most departments are called upon to handle requests in languages other than English. The language called for, while most frequently French, is by no means invariably so, for Ontario is a linguistically diverse province. It should be stressed that the proportion of non-English communications with Queen's Park is very small indeed: most departments estimated that less than one percent of letters received from the public were not in English.²

For provincial public servants in the province as a whole, 13.5 per cent use languages other than English in their work. However, if the public servants in the five south-eastern counties (Carleton, Glengarry, Prescott, Russell and Stormont) are considered alone, this proportion jumps to 25.6 per cent.³ The higher than average call for French-language service is also to be found in the capital area by itself. Of the 11 decentralized offices in the area, six reported that over 15 per cent of their work was conducted in French.

2. M. Bryan, Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of Ontario (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.E., 1966), p. 211.

3. Ibid., p. 219.

More particularly, the Ottawa area offices estimated their usage of the French language as follows. The Departments of Education and Transport stated that they used French whenever they were dealing with a French-speaking person. The Department of Health has three offices in the area: a tuberculosis clinic, an inspectorate under the stuffed articles and pesticides regulations, and a public health laboratory. French was not used at all in the latter two, but was employed 40 percent of the time in the clinic. Lands and Forests reported that 30 percent of its business was conducted in French. The Liquor Control Board stated that 25 percent of the business in its stores was in French but only one percent in its office. The Hospital Services Commission estimated that its bilingual clerk spends 25 percent of his time working in French. (As there are five persons working in this department's Ottawa office, perhaps 5 percent would be a better figure for comparative purposes). Public Welfare gave an estimate of 15 percent and Labour of less than 5 percent. The latter department was seeking a bilingual person to replace an office manager who had left, for it had found that the amount of business conducted in French increased with the number of French-speaking persons on the staff. Reform Institutions

felt that only two percent of its business was in French: "The majority of people dealt with by the Ottawa office are English-speaking, but when other languages are required our staff are usually able to use interpreters".⁴ Highways stated that French was rarely used while Agriculture simply reported that its contacts were primarily in English.

The Bryan study⁵ found that the occasions on which service in a language other than English is offered by the Government of Ontario appear to be subject to wide variations from department to department. Although each department determines its own policy and practice with regard to linguistic usage, two general conclusions did emerge: "the concessions made to other languages by the Ontario Government are determined by the kind of contact involved - whether personal or written - and by the kind of person involved in the contact - whether the general public, business organizations, or other governments."^{5A}

In the province generally, members of the public are more likely to receive linguistic concessions than are business

4. Unless otherwise specified, all quotations in this section are taken from the questionnaires completed by the departments.

5. N. Bryan, Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of Ontario (unpublished report prepared for the P.C.B.F., 1966).

5A. Ibid., p. 199.

organizations or other governments. Moreover, for the general public, the use of languages other than English is more common in personal rather than written contacts. Concerning written communication, some seven agencies reported that they answer a letter in the language in which it is sent; six regularly use other languages in addition to English in their public notices and advertising; five do the same for their publications; and one employs official forms with more than one language on them. Contacts with business organizations are almost entirely in English, whether oral or written. The same applies to communications between Ontario and the federal government and all the provinces but Quebec. In the case of the latter, Ontario departments sometimes use French in their replies.⁵⁸

For the local provincial offices in the capital area, the same general pattern can be seen, although it tends to be obscured by the diversity of practice from one department to another. The Liquor Control Board, the Hospital Services Commission and the Department of Education reported that their Ottawa offices offer service in both English and French over the telephone, in interviews and also in written communications. The Liquor Control Board stated that on rare occasions it receives letters from a foreign country, "in which case the

57. Ibid., pp. 199-212.

local Embassy is usually contacted for translation". The Hospital Services Commission noted that practically all its letters are sent to Toronto for handling, but even so all French letters are answered in French. Occasionally the Commission is called upon to deal with a person who can speak neither English nor French, although such persons usually have friends or neighbours who can telephone on their behalf or who will accompany them and provide interpretation.

Four offices, Public Welfare, Transport, Labour and Reform Institutions, while answering their letters in English only, handled telephone calls or interviews in French as well. Public Welfare commented that it receives very few letters, and Labour remarked that a non-English letter coming into the office would be translated into English, either by the office staff or, if need be, by a translation bureau. This department also noted that its bilingual service depended on the presence of a bilingual staff member.

The Department of Health, it will be remembered, operates three offices in the region: a tuberculosis clinic, a public health laboratory and an inspectorate under the stuffed articles and pesticides regulations. For all three, letters are answered in English. In the first two the Department reported that telephone calls can be answered in French, although

English is the preferred working language; the inspectors can only take calls in English. The clinic can give service in French in interviews: the other two request that interpreters accompany the non-English-speaking person.

In the Department of Lands and Forests, practically all communications leaving the Ottawa office are in English. However, it was indicated that the bilingual staff member was employed in answering letters in French. The Department of Agriculture's office initiated all communication in English. Nevertheless, in interviews, telephone calls and correspondence French will be used if the one bilingual stenographer is involved in the work.

The Department of Highways reported that its office uses English only in letters and over the telephone, and uses it by preference in interviews.

To sum up, the Ottawa offices of the Department of Education, the Liquor Control Board and the Hospital Services Commission would appear to make extensive provision for service in both English and French. In other departments the range of service available in the two languages varies from considerable to limited. All seem to be aware of some level of demand for French language service, but few offer an equal range of service in the second language.

All 11 of the local offices distribute printed documents. Seven of them (Education, the Liquor Control Board, Reform Institutions, Lands and Forests, Transport, Agriculture and Highways) had documents in English only. Of these, only Reform Institutions was aware of demands for non-English language documents these demands coming from the French-speaking population. According to the Department's statement, "such demands are infrequent and we encounter little difficulty in dealing with them in English". Such an attitude would seem to place administrative convenience above the preferences of the public being served.

The Department of Health reported that it translated locally only the documents relating to the tuberculosis clinic. It did not know whether there was any demand for non-English documents in relation to the public health laboratory, but the Department was aware of a "slight" demand by the French and Italian groups for documents in their languages relating to the clinic and inspection services. According to the Department,

The Ottawa offices have found that they can carry out their work satisfactorily using only English; as most French-speaking residents are bilingual; however the inspectors working under the Stuffed Articles and Pesticides regulations can see more need for pamphlets re: pesticides being printed in Italian or German than French for the same reason as above.

Again, administrative convenience appears to be the main criterion of language usage.

The Department of Public Welfare recognizes a "not too great" demand for non-English documents, which stems primarily from the French language group. It does in fact make informational pamphlets available in French.

The Department of Labour and the Hospital Services Commission are perhaps the most language-conscious of all Ontario departments. The former publishes pamphlets in several languages besides English even though "there is no real pressure for non-English language documents". The Hospital Services Commission has one combined literature folder available in 13 languages, and most of its other documents appear to be available at least in French in addition to English. The reason for this multilingualism was explained by the Commission.

There is no province-wide great public demand, although we hear mostly from French-speaking areas. Public demand played only a small part in motivating the production of non-English literature. We were concerned that the language barrier would not cause a resident to be vulnerable to hospital expense. A survey of 12 ethnic groups in the Province revealed that the greatest problems were amongst the Italian and Portuguese.

All 11 local agencies apart from the Department of Transport reported they were in contact with the federal government, although for the Departments of Education, and Lands and Forests, this was an infrequent affair. Agriculture, Health, Highways,

Labour, Lands and Forests, and Reform Institutions always used English in their contacts. The other four used both languages.

Five local offices (Education, Health, Labour, Transport and the Liquor Control Board) had no contacts with the Quebec government. Of the remaining six, only Public Welfare and Reform Institutions made contact once a month or more often. The Department of Public Welfare alone used English and French in both initiating and responding to contacts: the others used English on all occasions.

Four departments (Agriculture, Lands and Forests, Transport and the Liquor Control Board) stated that their Ottawa offices had no contacts with French language municipalities in Ontario such as Eastview. Of the other seven agencies, Highways, Labour and the Hospital Services Commission are in less than weekly contact with the municipalities. Four of the seven use English only in their communications (Health, Highways, Labour and Reform Institutions). Public Welfare and Education use both English and French, while the Hospital Services Commission uses English "except where contact could be by telephone with our bilingual field clerk".

Only four offices stated they had contacts with French - ~~language~~ groups and institutions (Health, Public Welfare, Education and Hospital Services Commission). The first uses only English in these contacts. The next two use both languages, while the Commission uses English except when the bilingual field clerk is available.

The internal language of work in the Ontario government is English. File systems are kept in this language in all but two departments. Agriculture will file communications in their original language, and Education will also do so with routine letters provided that a note in English as to content is attached. Non-routine letters are first translated. Forms for civil servants to fill out are in English with the exception of the Education Department's statistical returns required of inspectors of bilingual schools. All internal manuals and circulars are again available only in English. The language of work is English, apart from those officials in the Department of Education dealing with bilingual schools and French courses of study, who work in French.

(c) Provincial public servants.

At the end of December 1965, Ontario public servants numbered 43,141. They received an average income of \$4,978 and one third of them worked in metropolitan Toronto. Some 690 public servants were located in the five southeastern counties.

As may be seen in Table 2.1, the percentage breakdown by mother tongue of the Ontario public service does not accord with the general population figures. In 1961, those of English mother

Table 2.1

Percentage Distribution of Ontario Population (1961)
and Provincial Public Servants (1961 and 1966) by
Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	Ontario			Five Eastern Counties	
	Population (1961)*	Public Servants (1961)**	*** (1966)	Population (1961)*	Public Servants (1966)***
English	77.5	87.2	85.1	62.0	81.4
French	6.8	3.3	3.1	31.3	12.3
Other	15.6	9.6	11.8	6.6	6.2
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N	6,236,092	21,647	24,897	478,134	690

Sources: * Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 92-549,
Bulletin 1.2-9.

** Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 2, Table 1, p. 18.

*** N. Bryan, Ethnic Participation and Language Use
in the Public Service of Ontario (unpublished
study prepared for the R.C.B.C., 1966), p. 166.

tongue in the public service of Ontario as a whole were over-represented in comparison with their place in the population; those of French and other mother tongues were correspondingly under-represented. Five years later, in 1966, the pattern had not changed very much, though the proportion of those of other mother tongues had risen somewhat. In the southeastern counties, public servants of French mother tongue form four times the percentage they do at the provincial level, although they still remain under-

represented in relation to their population strength in the area. ⁵⁰

Table 2.2 shows the knowledge of English and French revealed by the 1961 census for the Ontario public service as a whole. The vast majority of employees reported English as their sole official language: only about one in twelve claimed to be able to speak both English and French. This pattern is subject to wide variations when the mother tongue factor is introduced. It will be seen that ^{whereas} roughly 19 out of every 20 public servants of French mother tongue

Table 2.2

Ontario Public Servants, Mother Tongue by
Official Language, 1961

1. Numbers

Mother tongue	Total	Official Language			
		English	French	Both	Neither
English	18,868	17,980	-	888	-
French	711	-	39	672	-
Other	2,068	1,835	-	217	16
Total	21,647	19,815	39	1,777	16

2. Percentages

Mother tongue	Total	Official Language			
		English	French	Both	Neither
English	100	95.3	-	4.7	-
French	100	-	5.5	94.5	-
Other	100	88.7	-	10.5	0.8
Total	100	91.5	0.2	8.2	0.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 2, Table 1, p. 18.

⁵⁰ The 1961 figures for the public service in the five eastern counties are not available. Although the comparison above between population and public servants in this region is based on data collected at different times, the similarity between the 1961 and 1966 distributions for all Ontario public servants lends authority to the observations made.

stated that they were bilingual, the proportion for those of other mother tongues drops to one in ten, and falls still further to one in 20 for those of English mother tongue. Despite this low proportion, public servants of English mother tongue still provide the largest absolute number of bilinguals, on account of their predominance within the Ontario public service.⁵¹⁾

5D. While the census question asks about ability to speak the second language, the results of the Bryan study indicated that public servants of English mother tongue could read French a little more frequently, but actually speak it less frequently, than the census figures suggest. For those of English and other mother tongues the percentages of respondents reporting language skills in French were as follows:

Mother Tongue	Read French	Write.. French	Understand Spoken French	Speak French
English	6.4	2.9	4.2	2.6
Other languages	11.8	4.6	10.1	6.2

For both groups the so-called passive language skills (reading and understanding) seem to be further developed than the more active ones (speaking and writing). Source: Unpublished material prepared for R.C.B.B. study of Ontario public servants by N. Bryan.

By combining the "English" and "Both" columns in Table 2.2, we find that an ability to use English, and presumably to serve the public in this language, is possessed by virtually all Ontario public servants. An indication of the relatively rare ability to give service in French is gained by combining the "French" and "Both" columns: only about one in 12 is able to do so. Another study found that nearly one in six Ontario officials could give service in a language other than French and English.^{5E}

In the Ottawa area, slightly over one fifth of the provincial public servants were reported to be bilingual, a proportion somewhat lower than that for the population as a whole.^{5F} While the percentage of bilingual staff varied from office to office, in all but a single case at least one staff member was sufficiently bilingual to carry out his duties in both English and French. The composition and language skills of the staff in the local provincial offices are presented in detail below.

The Department of Highways employs locally 12 professionals, 35 administrators (two of whom are bilingual), 20 clerical staff, and 444 labourers, operators, etc. (of whom 55 are bilingual). The Department of Lands and Forests estimated that 99 per cent of its Ottawa staff spoke English only. The number of its staff is usually 62, although seasonally this may rise to a maximum of 350.

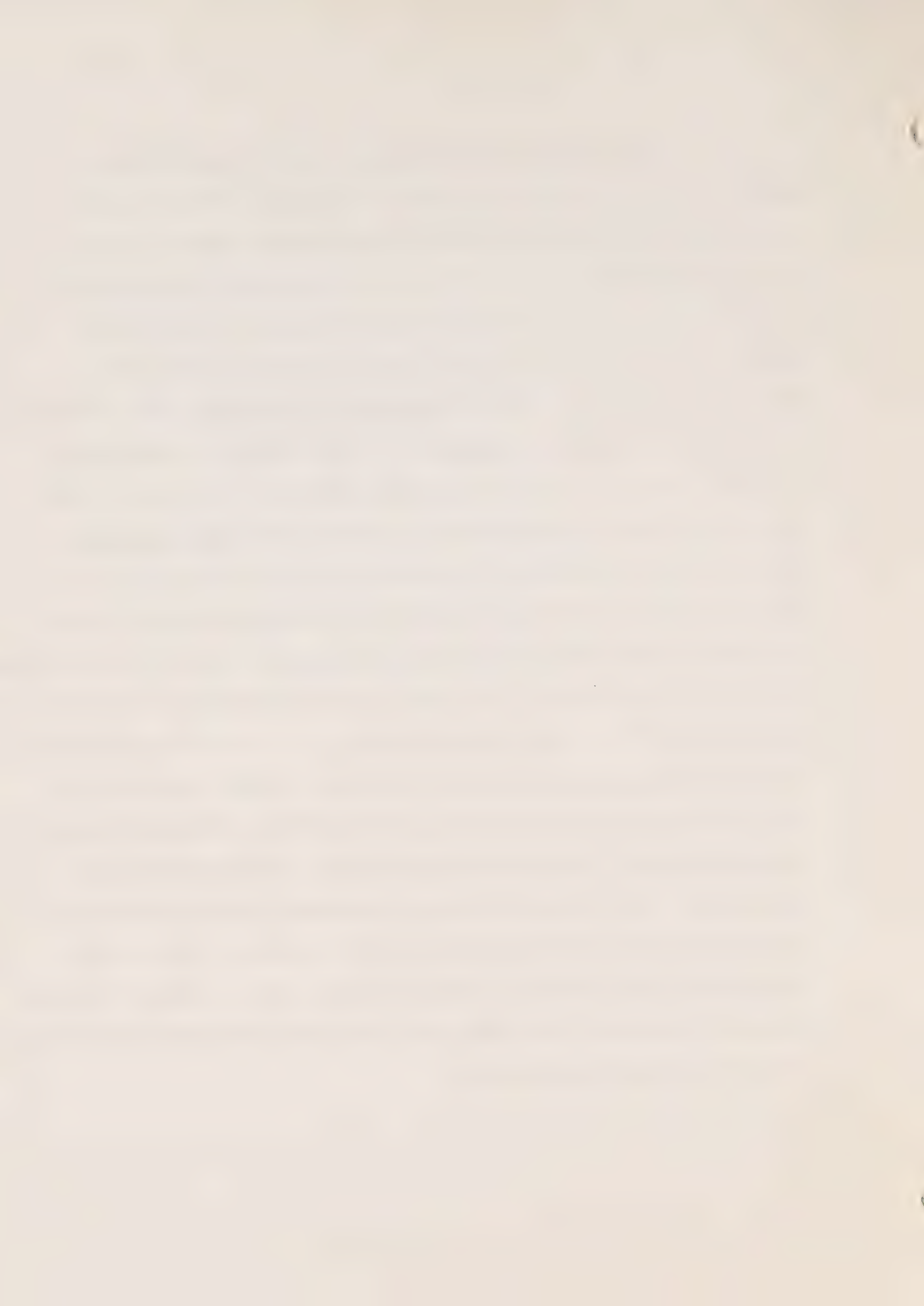
5E. N. Bryan, Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of Ontario (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.B., 1966), unpublished material.

5F. The population of the Ontario side of the metropolitan area was 26.5 per cent bilingual in 1961; for Carleton County the figure was 25.3 per cent. Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 92-549, Bulletin 1.2-9.

In its Ottawa office there are four bilingual persons, while all three members of the Plantagenet office⁶ could speak the two languages. The Department added that several of its staff-members were developing their bilingual skills. The Department of Health has a total staff of 39 in the area: seven professionals, two inspectors, eight in the clerical and 22 in the technical and maintenance categories. Of these only one clerical employee and three in the last category are bilingual.

6. Situated some 40 miles from Ottawa and outside the National Capital Region.

The Department of Labour has two professional employees out of 20 who are fully bilingual, while one of its four member clerical staff "understands spoken French, but does not speak it". Amongst the Hospital Services Commission staff of one District Supervisor, two Field Office Clerks and two Field Service Representatives, one of the Clerks is bilingual. The Department of Transport has 39 administrative and clerical employees, of whom eight are bilingual. Amongst the Department of Agriculture's four employees, there is one bilingual stenographer. Working for Public Welfare are two persons in the professional category (one of whom is bilingual), one bilingual person as an administrator, three in the clerical class (two being bilingual), and 17 semi-professional welfare workers (of whom four are bilingual). Of the employees of the Liquor Control Board, one out of two administrative staff, none of the six clerical staff, seven out of 21 in the managerial category, and 35 of the 80 store clerks are bilingual. Eighteen of Education's 45 inspectors are bilingual. Of the two District Inspectors, the one dealing with East Ottawa is bilingual, while the other, who is concerned with West Ottawa, speaks English only. Half of the six clerical personnel are bilingual, including the telephonist and two of the four secretaries.



The Department of Reform Institutions has one clerical employee and three Rehabilitation Officers. None of the four are bilingual, although two of the officers and the clerk have a limited grasp of French.

This last paragraph may be summarized in table form as follows.

TABLE 2.3

Language Capabilities of Ontario Public Servants in the Ottawa Area

1966

Department	Total Employees	Bilingual	Some Knowledge of French	English only	
				Number	As % of Total
Highways *	67	2		65	97.0
Lands & Forests	62	4		58	93.5
Health	39	4		35	89.7
Labour	24	2	1	21	87.5
Hospital Services Commission	5	1		4	80.0
Transport	39	8		31	79.5
Agriculture	4	1		3	75.0
Public Welfare	23	8		15	65.2
Liquor Control Board	109	43		66	60.6
Education	53	22	1	30	56.6
Reform Institutions	4		3	1	25.0
TOTAL	429	95	5	329	76.6

* Excluding the 444 labourers, etc., who would have little or no contact with the public.

Source: questionnaires filled out by the provincial departments.

Staffing policy. Some of the bilingual staff in Ottawa offices are there as a result of deliberate departmental policy; some are there for other reasons. Before looking at departmental practice in this respect three points might be noted. The official personnel policy of the Ontario government is to employ and promote staff on the basis of merit alone: ethnic, religious, political or other comparable factors would not be considered as determinants of merit. Also, in no classified position (outside of a few in the Departments of Education and of the Provincial Secretary) is a knowledge of another language besides English a formal requirement. Finally, the province does not reward bilingualism financially.^{6A}

On the other hand, the specific selection of linguistically gifted public servants would appear to be implied as a result of the recent statement made by the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Citizenship:

I accept as government policy of this administration that no person need ever be aggrieved, need ever be deprived of any right or of any privilege or anything which any one of his co-citizens is entitled to by reason of not being able to communicate in a language which will make him and his problem understood. Any such person appearing on the scene in any department of this government will have his wants attended to completely and fully.

7

The last sentence of this statement presumably refers to what will be the case in the future, not what obtains at present, for clearly, from the analysis up to now, the French-speaking citizen of Ottawa cannot be sure of having "his wants

6A. N. Bryan, Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of Ontario (unpublished report prepared for the R.C.B.B.), 1966, pp. 181 and 213.

7. Debates, Ontario Legislature, 1966 Session, p. 3309.

attended to completely and fully" in local departmental offices. One may remark in passing that the Minister places the burden of communication on the public and not on the public servants: only when the citizen has shown he cannot use English will the province make an effort to communicate with him in his own language. In other words, the effort and the uncertainties of using an unfamiliar language rest on the shoulders of the private citizen.

Notwithstanding the official personnel policy of selection by merit alone, examples of the deliberate positioning or promotion of bilingual persons may be found.⁸ The practice in this respect is erratic, as it varies not only from department to department, but also from branch to branch.

The Department of Agriculture permits its local offices to set their own policy as to the linguistic skills of candidates. The Ottawa office, as a result, has decided to employ a bilingual stenographer, who can do the necessary translations and interpretations. The Department of Health leaves its decentralized offices a similar option, although its Ottawa branches have not in fact decided on any policy. While the Liquor Control Board has a long-standing policy of having bilingual personnel in appropriate parts of the province such as Ottawa, the lower level

8. Although not included in our study, it might be noted that the Ontario Provincial Police conducted a successful campaign in the fall of 1966 to attract bilingual recruits for service in eastern Ontario and elsewhere in the province, as it was felt they were "needed" in these areas. Toronto Globe and Mail, December 6, 1966.

staff are recruited locally, and store managers decide what languages they need among their staffs. The Ottawa branches reported having no set policy.

The Department of Labour has a general policy of matching district officers to the language of the district. According to an interview with a departmental official in Toronto, Ottawa is something of a special case: in addition to French-speaking personnel, there must also be staff acceptable to the Ottawa Valley Irish community. Beyond this, it has a policy of preferring bilingual people if all other qualifications meet accepted standards.

The Department of Lands and Forests usually recruits local people who could, according to the Department, be expected to speak the local languages. All three employees in its Plantagenet office must be bilingual, and bilingual personnel were being sought for the Fitzroy Harbour office. It was proving difficult, however, to acquire suitably qualified officials who were also competent in the two languages.

The Department of Public Welfare hires locally when it can, and in its advertisements states its strong preference for bilingual recruits. As a general rule, it is departmental policy to place in its Ottawa office at least one bilingual person in each category of employment (professional, clerical, etc.). One of the three stenographers must be bilingual.

The Department of Transport especially selects bilingual driver-examiners for ten Ontario centres, one of which is Ottawa. The Ottawa office of the Department of Education must have bilingual inspectors for the bilingual schools in the area. It also ensures that its telephonist is bilingual. Reform Institutions has no policy with regard to the language skills of recruits. The policies of the Department of Highways, and the Hospital Services Commission are somewhat ambiguous. ^{8A}

Generally speaking, there does seem to be an awareness that a knowledge of French and other languages besides English is of value in certain positions in the Ontario public service, especially in the eastern and northern parts of the province. Before turning to a study of the situation in Quebec, a further substantiation of this point is in order. Asked whether they thought another language besides English would be useful in their work, fully 54 per cent of Ontario public servants answered affirmatively. ^{8B} Some 40.7 per cent specifically named French as the language which would be useful. Taking the southeastern counties alone, 71.4 per cent considered that another language would be useful, and practically all of these chose French.

8A. Interviews in Toronto with representatives of these two agencies indicated the deliberate positioning of bilingual staff in the Ottawa area: in their written answers to the question of whether or not there was a set policy of having bilingual people in certain positions in their Ottawa offices, the two gave negative replies.

8B. N. Bryan, Ethnic Participation and Language Use in the Public Service of Ontario (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.B., 1966), pp. 239-241.

Clearly Ontario public servants are aware of a far greater need for the French language in their work than they can presently supply. It may be noted that apparently nothing by way of language training programmes is being done by the Government of Ontario to meet these perceived demands.

2. Quebec

(a) Provincial law.

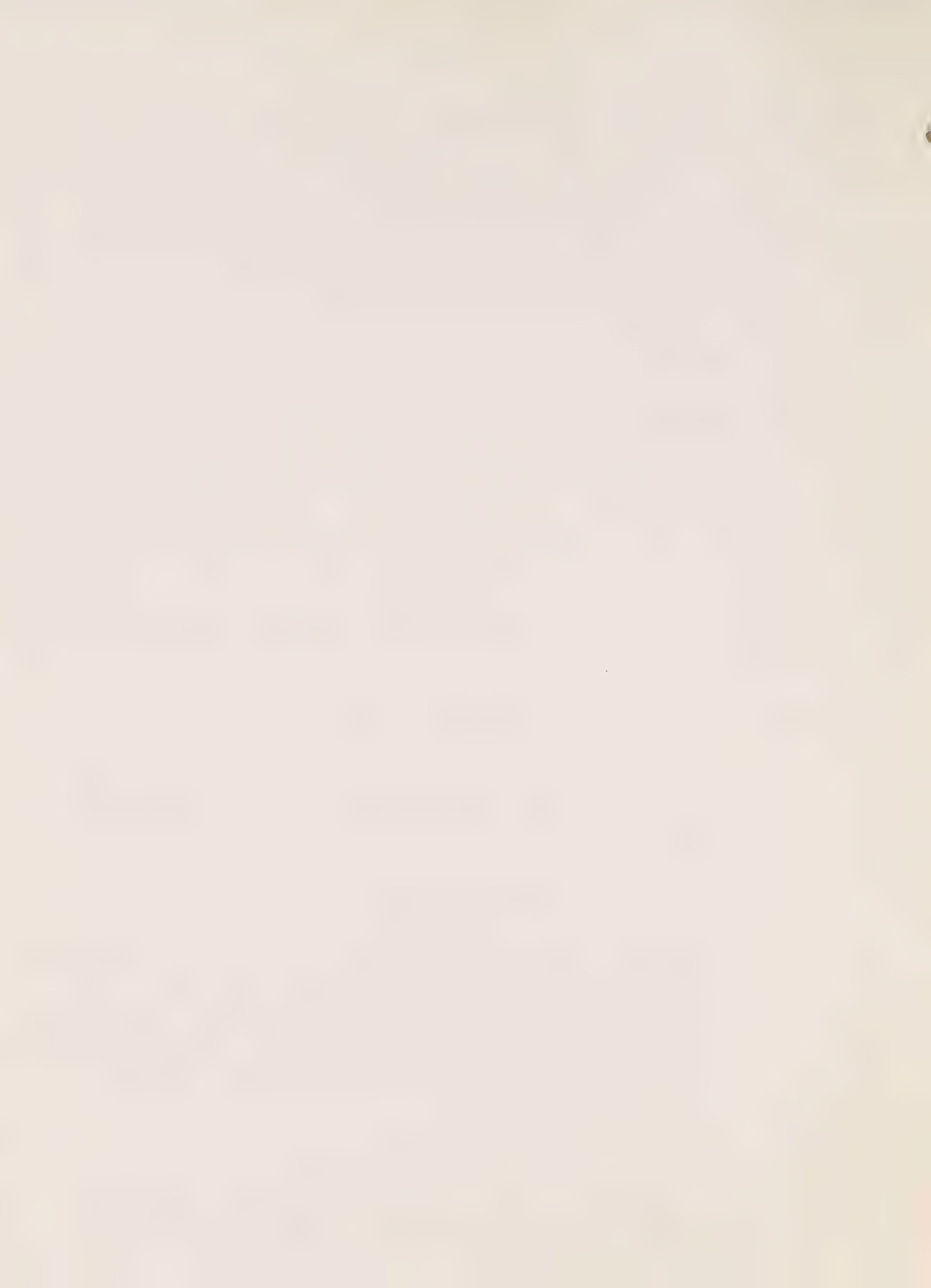
By S.133 of the B.N.A. Act, provincial statutes in Quebec must be published in both English and French. In contrast to Ontario, Quebec legislation also frequently mentions language usage. The following examples will give some idea of the range of activities subject to linguistic regulation by statute or subordinate legislation.⁹

(1) By the Unclaimed Goods Act, notices in newspapers of the sale of unclaimed goods by launderers or dyers and fur merchants are to be published in both English and French.

(2) Article 1682 of the Civil Code reads:

The following shall be printed in French and in English: passenger tickets, baggage checks, way bills, bills of lading, printed telegraph forms, and contract forms, made, furnished or delivered by a railway, navigation, telegraph, telephone, transportation, express or electric power company, as well as all notices or regulations posted in its stations, carriages, boats, offices, factories or workshops.

9. These examples are taken from C.A. Sheppard, The Law of Languages in Canada (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.B.), pp. 851-914.



- (3) By the Election Act, enumerators are to wear a badge bearing the words "Enumérateur Québec Enumerator".
- (4) The Fire Investigations Act demands that the Secretary of the Fire Commissioner of Montreal speak and write "the French and English languages correctly".
- (5) The Medical Act provides that examiners assigned by the Provincial Medical Board to Laval University and the University of Montreal be French-speaking and those assigned to McGill University be English-speaking.
- (6) The Act respecting the Board of Roman Catholic School Commissioners of Quebec states that the Board shall consist of seven members, one of whom is to be English-speaking.
- (7) Examinations under the Veterinary Surgeons Act shall be in French and English.
- (8) Ordinance No. 39 of 1962 (dealing with forest operations), made under the Minimum Wage Act, stipulates that:

The employer must take the necessary steps in French or English, according to the language of the employee concerned.

(9) The Quebec Companies Act lays down that:

If the company has a French and an English name, or a name consisting of a French and an English version, it may be legally designated by its French name or its French version thereof, or by its English name or the English version thereof, or by both names or both versions.

A recent example relating to the labelling of foods is the Order-in-Council, adopted March 15, 1967, providing that "the use of French is obligatory in all inscriptions [on all foods consumed by humans or animals, except alcoholic beverages] and inscriptions in another language must not take precedence over those in French".^{9A} In addition, practically all official forms are in both languages and it is usual practice to permit them to be filled out in either French or English. Clearly language, in both the public and the private spheres, has been a matter of concern to the Quebec legislature.

(b) Language usage.

For Quebec public servants as a whole, some 66.9 per cent use only French in their work, 32.0 per cent use both English and French, and 1.1 per cent use only English.¹⁰ Taking as the general provincial average that roughly one third of public servants are sometimes called upon to work in English, we find that eight of the twelve decentralized offices in the Hull area are above the average. As in Ontario, the local offices showed marked differences from one to another. This seems to be the result of the varying geographical areas and clienteles that they serve.

9A. Quoted in the Toronto Globe and Mail, April 18, 1967.

10. G. Lapointe, Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.E., 1965), Vol. IV, p. 269.

The local offices of five departments (Tourism, Lands and Forests, Industry and Commerce, Highways, and Agriculture) felt that roughly half of the people coming to them were English-speaking. Tourism and Lands and Forests attributed this to the large influx of Ontario and American tourists during the summers. According to the Department of Industry and Commerce, its existing public consists mostly of company directors, many of whom are English-speaking. Also, as this department is seeking to attract new Canadian, American, and European plants to the area, the need for English is clear. The Department of Highways felt that all in all it uses the two languages equally, but it noted some geographical variations: English is the main language used in the County of Pontiac, the two are about equally employed in Gatineau County, while in Hull itself French is the dominant tongue. Lastly, the Department of Agriculture mentioned that it serves many English-speaking municipalities in the area, particularly in Pontiac County. The offices of the Departments of Transport and Revenue, and also the Liquor Commission, all estimated that between 35 and 40 per cent of their contacts are with English-speaking people.

Falling below the provincial average is the Family and Social Welfare office. Here the proportion of English-language contacts was down to between 15 and 20 per cent, but even this figure, the office felt, was unusually high on account of the inclusion of Gatineau and Pontiac Counties within its jurisdiction. Three departments have relatively little contact with the English-

speaking population. The Department of Health pointed out that the area it serves is made up of the municipalities along the Ottawa River (from Gatineau to Aylmer), which taken together are primarily French-speaking. The Department of Labour felt that of the people seeking jobs at its employment office, only one per cent are English-speaking, while of the employers contacting them some five to six per cent are English. The probation service of the Department of Justice found only five per cent of its clientele to be English-speaking, although it estimated that some 10 per cent of the population of the area it serves speak English.

Table 2.4 shows that language usage for the Quebec public service as a whole differs according to the kind of person with whom communication has been established. One Quebec public servant addressing another will almost invariably do so in French. Communications with municipalities and other such bodies are also conducted mainly in French. Next in order in the extent to which French is employed comes the general public, followed by business concerns and the federal government. Apparently French is used only rarely in contacts with other provincial governments, and this applies with particular emphasis to Ontario-Quebec relations. Table 2.4 also shows that written communications are slightly more likely to be in French than are oral ones.

Departmental variations from this pattern exist. At the provincial level generally, in their external aspects at least, departments dealing largely with the general public, such as Revenue and Health, offer a completely bilingual service. Departments whose contacts with the general public are restricted

TABLE 2.4

Language Usage of Quebec Public Servants
1965

1. External Language Usage

Communications to:	HQ				HQ			
	Oral Communication		Written Communication		Oral Communication		Written Communication	
	Mainly French	English and French	Mainly English	Mainly French	Mainly French	English and French	Mainly English	Mainly French
General Public	73.6	20.2	1.2	79.6	13.5	1.8		
Municipalities; School Commissions;	90.0	8.6	1.4	90.3	7.8	1.8		
Social and Hospital Services	64.3	32.6	3.0	65.7	30.6	3.7		
Industrial and Commercial Enterprises	63.1	25.0	11.2	61.0	27.0	12.0		
Federal Government	12.4	19.6	68.0	16.5	17.8	65.7		
Government of Ontario	30.9	23.4	45.6	26.2	19.2	54.5		
Governments of other provinces								

2. Internal Language Usage

	Oral Communication		Written Communication	
	Mainly French	English and French	Mainly English	Mainly French
Same department	95.0	3.1	0.9	96.9
Other departments	95.0	3.5	0.5	96.7

Source: G. Lapointe, *Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise* (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.B., 1966), Vol. IV, pp. 271-273.

do not necessarily feel themselves under the same obligation. Some will use only French when initiating communication with an individual or business (in replying to a letter, only the Civil Service Commission does not make it a rule to use the language of the correspondent). Calls for tenders by the Departments of Public Works and Highways in some cases will be published in French alone. These, however, are exceptions to the general rule that the public can expect service in either language from Quebec public servants.¹¹ The decentralised offices situated in the Hull area follow this general rule: every one of the 12 reported that service can be obtained in either French or English.

. Asked what was their policy and practice with regard to language usage in correspondence, telephone conversations and face-to-face interviews, nine local offices replied that they employ the language of the person being addressed. In initiating communications, the general practice seems to be to select the language according to the name of the person involved. These nine are the Departments of Agriculture, Health, Highways, Justice, Labour, Revenue, Tourism, and Transport, and the Liquor Commission.

The Family and Social Welfare and Industry and Commerce offices make the first initiative in French, but switch to English if the respondent is of that tongue. Lands and Forests tries more firmly to use French.

11. J. LaBrière, Le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique québécoise, (working paper prepared for the P.C.S.C.), pp. 5, 6, 15, 16.

As for documents sent or given to the public, most appear to be available in the two languages. Where the French and English versions are printed separately, the language of the request or the name of the recipient determines which version is to be handed out.

There are some exceptions to this general practice. Written material for the Department of Labour comes from Quebec City, and is in French only. However, the local staff translate where necessary. The Department of Agriculture's office expressed the opinion that not enough English language documents are sent to the Hull region, which because of its strong English-speaking minority is something of a special case. To fill this gap, the office makes use of federal government and Ontario documents. Some of the Department of Industry and Commerce's material is in French only.

Language usage when contacting the federal government varies strongly from office to office. Two (Highways and the Liquor Commission) are never in touch with Ottawa. Three report the use of French only (Health, Labour, Lands and Forest). The Justice office uses the language of the respondent. Those of the Departments of Industry and Commerce, Revenue and Transport initiate communication in French, but switch language if the respondent is English-

speaking. Unless they know they will be talking or writing to a French-speaking civil servant, Agriculture and Family and Social Welfare use English only. Tourism does business with the N.C.C. and the federal Department of Forestry: in the former case it always uses French, while with the latter English is used.

Four offices have no dealings with the Ontario government (Highways, Industry and Commerce, Labour and the Liquor Commission). Of those that do have such contacts, the Transport and Revenue offices use the language of the respondent. Agriculture, Health and Justice employ English unless they know that the person being addressed is French-speaking. Lands and Forests uses English, lest the use of French result in misunderstanding. Tourism always makes the initiating communication to the Ontario Lands and Forests Department in French. The replies that come back are sometimes in French and sometimes in English. Family and Social Welfare up to one point always used to write in English to the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board: today it uses only French. The responses it receives are sometimes in one language, sometimes in the other.

In their dealings with the English-language municipalities on the Quebec side of the N.C.R., the local Quebec public servants will generally use English. The Agriculture, Family and Social Welfare, Highways, Labour, Lands and Forest, Revenue and Transport offices reported they use the language of the respondent. Industry and Commerce uses the language of the municipality. It gave the example of Lucerne, whose population and municipal administration are half English-speaking and half French-speaking. Consequently in its contacts with the administration it would use both languages according to whom it was addressing. The Department of Health uses French unless the municipality is English-speaking, while Tourism will only use English when it is dealing with a municipal employee who can speak no French. Justice and the Liquor Commission stated they have no contacts with English language municipalities.

Only seven offices mentioned language usage with respect to English-speaking groups and schools. Agriculture, Family and Social Welfare, Health, Justice and the Liquor Commission use the language of the respondent. Tourism will only employ English when it is dealing with unilingual persons, and Industry and Commerce, which is in contact with the Chambers of Commerce, reports the use of French only.

The use of languages other than English or French does not appear to reach any significant level in the Quebec public service. Asked if they thought such languages would be useful in their work, only 3.5 per cent of provincial servants concurred, as against 67.2 per cent who thought a knowledge of English would be useful.¹² None of the local offices in the Hull area mentioned the employment of other languages in documents, etc., as is done in the provincial offices in Ottawa. It will be recalled from chapter I, however, that the percentage of those having neither French nor English as mother tongue on the Quebec side of the metropolitan area is only 1.6, compared to 8.1 on the Ontario side, and that the proportion unable to speak either French or English was only 0.4 per cent, as against 1.2 per cent in Ontario.

The internal language of the Quebec government is French. The card-indexes of files are all in this language except for the Department of Finance where they are bilingual. Outside of this Department and Quebec Hydro, internal forms are in French only. Manuals and circulars are published exclusively in French.¹³ As shown in Table 2.4, very few public servants make internal use of English. In short, while the Quebec administration presents a bilingual aspect to the public, its internal language is almost exclusively French.

12. C. Lapointe, *ibid.*, p. 260.

13. J. LaRivière, Le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique québécoise (working paper prepared for the R.C.B.E.), pp. 3-5.

(c) Provincial public servants.

The Quebec public service employs some 47,000 persons, 24,000 of whom are under the Civil Service Commission. In 1965, they received an average income of \$4,343. The previous year found 46.6 per cent working in the Quebec metropolitan area, 23.2 per cent in the Montreal metropolitan area, and 30.2 per cent elsewhere in the province. In the City of Hull the census showed 144 persons working for the provincial government in 1961, or 0.69 per cent of the total provincial public service.¹⁴

From Table 2.5, we can see that both the English and the non-English, non-French mother tongue groups are under-represented in the public service in relation to their position in the population at large. The French mother tongue group is correspondingly over-represented.

Table 2.5

Percentage Distribution of Quebec Population and Provincial Public Servants by Mother Tongue, 1961

Mother tongue	Population	Public Servants
French	81.2	95.9
English	13.3	3.4
Other languages	5.6	0.7
Total %	100.	100.
N	5,259,211	22,155

Sources: Population - Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 92-549, Bulletin 1.2-9.
Public Servants - Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 2, Table 1, p. 15.

14. In 1941 there were 69 provincial servants in Hull, and in 1951, there were 92. These formed respectively 0.78 and 0.82 per cent of the total Quebec administration.

In Table 2.6, the distribution by official language of Quebec public servants is given. Contrasting with the largely unilingual Ontario public service, that of Quebec is extensively bilingual. Moreover, no one mother tongue group provides a disproportionately high number of bilinguals, although it should perhaps be noted that the most highly bilingual group in the Quebec public service is of English mother tongue. Of course, as a reflection of their overwhelming numerical superiority in the public service as a whole, those of French mother tongue provide the bulk of the bilingual personnel.

Table 2.6

Quebec Public Servants, Mother Tongue
by Official Language, 1961

1. Numbers

Mother tongue	Total	Official Language			
		English	French	Both	Neither
English	757	205	-	552	-
French	21,265	-	8,243	13,022	-
Other	174	24	27	111	12
Total	22,196	229	8,270	13,685	12

2. Percentages

Mother tongue	Total	Official Language			
		English	French	Both	Neither
English	100	27.1	-	72.9	-
French	100	-	38.8	61.2	-
Other	100	13.8	15.5	63.8	6.9
Total	100	1.0	37.3	61.7	0.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Tape 2, Table 1, p. 15

Combining the "French" and "Both" columns in Table 2.6 so as to obtain an indicator of the ability to give service in French, we find that, as in Ontario, virtually all Quebec public servants can give service in the majority language of the administration, in this case, French. A combination of the "English" and "Both" columns shows that close to two thirds can do so in English also. ^{14a}

14a. Some further detail on language skills of Quebec public servants may be found in the Lapointe study, which classified respondents as French-speaking or English-speaking according to the language in which they filled out the questionnaire (rather than by reported mother tongue). It also attempted to grade each of the skills on a four-point scale: little or no difficulty, some difficulty, great difficulty, and no knowledge at all. If we take the two upper categories combined as representing sufficient ability to give service in both languages, the percentage of civil servants effectively bilingual in each skill is as follows:

	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Writing</u>	<u>Understanding</u>	<u>Speaking</u>
French-speakers' capacity in English	83.1	74.3	77.1	72.8
English-speakers' capacity in French	90.2	74.0	86.1	81.8

It will be noted that by this definition the level of bilingualism is higher than the 1961 census figures indicate. As in Ontario (see page 2.20, note 5D above), the passive language skills of reading and understanding are stronger than the active skills of writing and speaking, though in this case only marginally so.

Source: Lapointe, op.cit. IV, 262-265.

The provincial public servants employed in the Hull area were reported to be bilingual in greater proportions than the general provincial average: although one cannot give precise figures, approximately 90 per cent were reported to be able to give service in the two languages. Again there were departmental variations in this pattern.

In the case of five offices, all the staff were stated to be fully bilingual. These are Labour (with three employees), the Liquor Commission (with an estimated staff of 41 in the area), Revenue (with two employees), Agriculture (with 10) and Industry (with two). In a further three, all but one of the staff were said to be fully bilingual, and this one person in each case does have some knowledge of the other language. These are the offices of the Justice (employing 11 persons), Family and Social Welfare (with 20) and Transport (with 12) departments.

Twenty of Health's 22 employees were reported able to give service in either language. Tourism has a staff of 17, one or two of whom were said not to be bilingual and the rest having varying degrees of proficiency in the two languages. In approximate terms, Highways has a staff of 200. One hundred and fifty of these are labourers who do not come into contact with the public. Of the remaining 50, ten are in the administrative category and all it was indicated, are bilingual. The other 40 are technicians, and almost all of these are also bilingual.

The local office of the Department of Lands and Forests services an area extending some 300 miles north of the Ottawa River, and employs a staff of 50 (60 in the summer). However, only 15 persons (20 in the summer) are concerned with the territory falling within the National Capital Region. Nine of these work in the Hull office. Most of the 15 employees were reported as being bilingual to some extent, although the quality varies widely.

Clearly, there is a high level of bilingualism among the staff of the provincial offices in the Hull area. However, with 49.1 per cent of the population of Hull reporting in 1961 that their official languages were both French and English, the question arises to what extent the large number of bilingual persons in the local offices is the result of accident or design.

Staffing policy. For Quebec public servants as a whole, 38.1 per cent reported that they were required to be bilingual for their present post. Amongst English-speaking officials the percentage who needed to have a knowledge of French was 69.5, while 37.6 per cent of French-speaking public servants had to have English.¹⁵ At the local level, there was again variation in this matter between the departmental offices in the Hull area.

15. G. Lapointe, Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise (unpublished study prepared for the R.C.B.B., 1966), Vol. 1V, p. 261.

In the case of five offices, bilingualism was stated to be a required qualification for a position. Agriculture, Revenue and Transport, and the Liquor Commission all fall within this category. The first of these noted that it experiences some difficulty in recruiting suitably qualified bilingual personnel and pointed out that the Province of Quebec does not offer any financial reward for bilingualism. The fifth office, Justice, requires a "sufficient" number, but not necessarily all, of its probation officers in a division to be bilingual.

Three offices, namely Tourism, Health and Lands and Forests, do not attach very much importance to bilingual qualifications, although in the case of the last it is regarded as "useful".

In their attitude to language requirements, four offices fall between these two extremes. While there is no formal policy as such favouring bilingualism, a knowledge of the two languages is required in one way or another. Industry and Commerce said its employees had to be bilingual "à cause des exigences". Family and Social Welfare followed a similar pattern in that, where all other conditions are equal, the bilingual candidate will be preferred to the unilingual one "à cause des exigences de la fonction". This department also mentioned that it tests the candidate's knowledge of English. Highways, while stating that language requirements are not

imposed on technicians and labourers "car ils n'ont pas ou peu affaire au public", noted that for the administrative class a knowledge of the two languages is necessary. No problem had actually ever arisen, however, for no unilingual French-speaking person had hitherto presented himself as a candidate for an administrative post. Labour prefers to hire bilingual persons "à cause de la région".

However, the absence of a definite policy of bilingualism seems to have little effect on the language abilities of the departmental staffs. As noted previously, all offices in practice have a high percentage of their employees able to give service in the two languages. This seems to be the result of (1) a recognition of the need for bilingualism in the area, and (2) the highly bilingual population from which the locally-based employees are drawn.

3. Ontario and Quebec: A Comparison and Evaluation

In their patterns of linguistic usage the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec today are evidently fairly far apart. The main differences may be quickly rehearsed by way of a summary and comparison.

1. In provincial legislation Ontario rarely makes reference to language and makes no direct provision for bilingualism: Quebec has frequently legislated on linguistic matters and has required the use of the two languages.
2. Ontario statutes are published officially in English only: Quebec statutes are required to be published in both English and French.
3. In Ontario, 13.5 per cent of public servants sometimes use a language other than English in their work: in Quebec 33.1 per cent employ a language other than French.
4. A reasonably complete service in French as well as English is offered by three of the 11 Ontario offices in the federal capital area. In all 12 local Quebec offices service in English as well as French is virtually always available.
5. Although more printed material is available in the two languages in Quebec than in Ontario, neither province is fully bilingual in this respect.

6. The internal language of work is almost exclusively English in the Ontario administration and French in the Quebec administration.
7. Occasional use of languages other than French and English was recorded in the Ottawa offices, but not in the Hull ones.
8. Considerable variation in linguistic practice within each province may be found. Four distinct variables are: geographic location (service in areas where the population is linguistically heterogeneous is more bilingual than elsewhere in the province); departments (generally, socially-oriented departments, such as Education, social more bilingual than technical ones, like Highways); clientele (in Ontario, at least, the general public is more likely to receive bilingual service than are commercial enterprises); and the medium used (written communications are more likely to be in English in Ontario and French in Quebec than are oral communications).
9. In 1965, the total Quebec civil service was larger than Ontario's: around 47,000 officials as compared to 43,000. The average income of Quebec public servants was lower: \$4,343 as against \$4,976. In the Federal capital area, roughly twice as many provincial servants are employed in the Ontario as in the Quebec sector.

10. In both the Ontario and the Quebec public services, the largest language group is over-represented in relation to its position in the provincial population. The smaller groups are under-represented.
11. In Ontario, 8.2 per cent of officials can understand both English and French: in Quebec 61.7 per cent can do so. In the Ottawa and Hull areas, the equivalent percentages are much higher, being roughly 22 and 90 per cent respectively.
12. Amongst Ontario officials 40.7 per cent thought a knowledge of French would be useful to their work: some 67.2 per cent of Quebec officials thought English would be useful.
13. Bilingual staff are deliberately recruited in the capital area by both provinces, although in the case of Ontario such policies are rather sporadic.
- 14.. Both provinces leave language policy in the federal capital substantially undefined. Most of the decisions in this area appear to be made by local officials according to the exigencies of their departmental working situations. This may well account for the extensive variations from department to department revealed by our inquiries.

The local offices in the Quebec sector of the capital area are clearly far better equipped to give service in the two languages than are those in the Ontario sector. This has not come about by chance, but on the contrary through the positive attitude of the Quebec government toward the provision of bilingual service. Quebec public servants do not expect the

English-speaking population to use French in communicating with them. One local official told of his surprise in encountering an English-speaking citizen who attempted to speak French to him. There seems to be a corresponding expectation (which is almost wholly satisfied) on the part of English-speaking persons of being able to deal with the provincial government in their own language.

In Ontario, on the other hand, the assumption is that the French-speaking population can generally speak English, and that service in French is consequently more or less unnecessary. Although the Ontario government is far from the monolithically unilingual structure it is sometimes made out to be, the aspirations of French-speaking citizens to be served in their own language, notwithstanding their facility in English, have not been recognized by the province, either in principle or in practice. Rather, the province appears to look on service in another language as an exceptional practice, to be used only in cases of demonstrated need. The general impression given is that administrative efficiency tends to rank before public convenience as a determinant of language usage in the Ontario administration.

It must be remembered, of course, that Ontario is under no constitutional obligation to provide administrative services in French, either in the federal capital area or elsewhere. However, apart from the requirement that its statutes be published in English as well as French, Quebec is constitutionally no further bound than is Ontario to provide administrative services in a second language.

III Provincial Government and the Municipalities

In this section, the powers delegated by the provincial governments rather than those exercised directly are considered. The extent of delegation depends entirely on the provinces. It seems clear that a province may delegate, but not abdicate, any of the powers it possesses. This means that a province must be able to resume its jurisdiction over any area that has been given to another body to handle, and that in many cases it will retain for itself a general supervisory capacity.

The use of local institutions as agents to carry out provincially-determined programmes is fairly widespread. School boards, police commissions, planning boards, committees of adjustment, boards of health, hospital management boards and the like all fall within this category.

To some extent these bodies may be locally responsive, particularly when they are composed wholly or in part of locally elected or appointed persons. They enjoy greater freedom from provincial control than do the local offices of Ontario and Quebec government departments discussed in the preceding section. At the same time, such bodies must keep within the bounds of their powers and duties as delineated by the provinces.

Legislation governing the language of the regulations, notices, forms and returns of these bodies is essentially the same as that applying to municipal institutions and is examined below. Briefly, occasional requirements for bilingualism will be found in Quebec, while Ontario is silent on this matter.

The major institution that the province employs to carry out its objectives is, of course, the municipality. Numerous examples could be cited of obligatory functions imposed on municipal corporations by the provinces: maintenance of streets and bridges, the sharing of such costs as the upkeep of county court-houses and jails, the establishment of a police force. All these form part of the functions of a municipality.

Municipalities in Canada have no independent existence. Their creation, enlargement, boundaries, and forms of government are all dependent on provincial enactments.¹⁶ The very powers that they exercise are those that the province chooses to delegate to them. Moreover, with the increasing complexity, costliness and extent of government, the municipalities' dependence on the provinces is growing.

16. Municipalities in the N.W.T. and the Yukon form an exception in that they are subject to the ordinances of the territorial government instead of provincial law.

Yet it would be wrong to look on municipal government as being completely subservient to the provincial. Within the limits set by the provinces, municipalities do have considerable freedom of manoeuvre. This is necessary: the resources of the provincial apparatus are not such that the affairs of the province can be managed without extensive delegation. It is also desirable: for not only have municipal institutions been called, in the words of the Tocqueville, the strength of free nations, but also, more prosaically, only they can provide the knowledge of local conditions that is essential to successful administration. Among these local conditions, the specific cultural and linguistic needs of the people are an important consideration, particularly in the federal capital, where the population served may include not only local residents but visitors from all over Canada.

General empowering acts. The major influence on the shape and powers of municipalities in both provinces is the general empowering act. In Ontario, there is the Municipal Act which covers all municipalities, although some of its provisions apply only to authorities of certain sizes, while in Quebec there are two bodies of law, the Cities and Towns Act and the Municipal Code. The former applies to those local government areas containing 4,000 or more inhabitants and whose authorities have made a special application to Quebec City to come under the Act rather than the Code. A quick summary of the contents of these three pieces of legislation will reveal the detailed control exercised by the provinces over municipal institutions.

The Ontario Municipal Act commences with a chapter bearing the self-explanatory title of "Formation, Erection, Alteration of Boundaries, and Dissolution of Municipalities, Etc." Next, the Act considers various aspects of municipal councils: their composition, qualifications for membership, vacancies thereon and rules of procedure for meetings of council. It goes on to deal with qualifications for voters and procedures to be followed at municipal elections. The duties of a Board of Control, which must be set up in all cities with a population of over 100,000, are outlined. The Act also provides for the officers of municipal corporations (e.g., "The Council shall appoint a clerk", s.215(1)); methods of passing by-laws; the finances of municipalities; and the power to acquire land. The duties of local government in regard to police forces and administration of justice, and the maintenance of highways and bridges are specified.

By s. 243, "Every council may pass such by-laws and make such regulations for the health, safety, morality and welfare of the inhabitants in matters not specifically provided for by this Act as may be deemed expedient and are not contrary to law, and for governing the proceedings of the council, the conduct of its members and the calling of meetings". The areas in which this general clause sees municipalities acting are noteworthy, namely "the health, safety, morality and welfare of the inhabitants". The matters specifically

provided for by the Act fall within these four categories. Filling some 30 odd sections and 96 pages, these areas are specified in a detailed fashion, and while they are extensive, they are rarely of great importance.¹⁷ In short, Ontario municipalities are charged with the regulation of a host of minor, though undoubtedly necessary, functions which affect our daily lives.

Of the eight Quebec municipalities within the Ottawa metropolitan area, four (Aylmer, Hull, Gatineau and Pointe-Gatineau) are subject to the provisions of the Cities and Towns Act. Deschênes, Lucerne, Templeton and West Templeton fall under the Municipal Code.

The main difference between the Act and the Code is that the latter is adapted to the needs of smaller municipalities and rural communities. The Code's grant of power to pass by-laws to control the fencing of animals would be of little use to Hull, for example. While the structures of municipal government vary between the two, they are, on the whole, substantially the same. We shall, therefore, only look in detail at the Act.

17. Some of the areas covered by the Act are: drainage and floods; exhibitions; parks; fire matters; animals and birds; food and fuel; nuisances and signs; and markets. Such examples give a good idea of the local nature of the matters concerning which municipalities may pass by-laws.

Comparing the Quebec Cities and Towns Act and the Ontario Municipal Act, we find that both follow more or less the same pattern, although some variations are worth noting. For example, only the Ontario Act provides for a Board of Control while provision for a Municipal Court is only made in the Quebec Act. If anything, the Quebec legislation is more detailed than its Ontario counterpart, especially in the provisions concerning municipal elections. The sections in the two Acts dealing with areas over which the city or town has powers to pass by-laws appear to be similar. One difference that crops up between the two is in the general clause which appears to be wider in Quebec: section 424 (1) reads, "The council may make by-laws to secure the peace, order and good government, health, general welfare and improvement of the municipality, provided such by-laws are not contrary to the laws of Canada, or of this province, nor inconsistent with any special provision of this act or of the charter."

What does mark off the two Quebec pieces of legislation from the Ontario Act is the question of language. The latter is wholly silent on the matter, while the two Quebec laws make some detailed provisions. To take the Municipal Code first, some eight articles refer to the two languages. Article 15 provides that in case of conflict between the French and the English texts of the Code, "that version shall prevail which is most consistent with the provision of existing

laws". Article 127 permits the use of both languages at council meetings. The following article stipulates that either French or English must be used for all documents deposited or filed in the office of the corporation. Article 129 states that, as a general rule, all public notices must be published in the two languages, while under article 339 "every special notice... must be given in the language of the person to whom it is addressed". Where the addressed person speaks neither English nor French, notice may be given in either language.

Exceptions to article 129 are provided for under article 130. The Minister of Municipal Affairs is empowered to exempt municipalities from the rule of publication in the two languages. Until permission to use a single language is obtained, by-laws are only valid if published in both English and French. The Minister may revoke any exemption. The general rule, then, in that all municipalities under the Code are officially bilingual, unless the Minister, looking at each case individually, decides, presumably on the basis of the linguistic composition of the municipality's population, to make an exception. Of the four municipalities under the Code in the Ottawa metropolitan area, only Lucerne appears to have been authorized to publish in a sole language -- English, although the municipality reports that it does in fact publish in both.¹⁸

¹⁸. Information supplied by the municipality of Lucerne. When the municipality received its exemption in 1927 the population was predominantly English-speaking. By 1961, however, the French mother tongue group has grown in size so as to form 45.1 per cent of the population, and presumably this has influenced the decision to publish in both languages.

The language provisions in the Cities and Towns Act are rather different from those found in the Code. There is, for instance, nothing on the use of language at council meetings. Moreover, no section provides for the possibility of exemptions to be made by the Minister of Municipal Affairs from the linguistic provisions of the Act. Public notices must still be published in English and French (s. 362). If, instead of posting a public notice, it is published in a newspaper, this must be done by means of an insertion of a notice in a French paper and in an English paper circulating in the municipality (s. 373). Documents, orders or proceedings of a council, the publication of which is required by law or by the council, and also by-laws follow the same procedure as outlined in s. 362. The Municipal Courts provided for by the Act fall under s.133 of the E.N.A. Act.

In all three of these general empowering acts, certain forms, such as ballot papers, are prescribed. In the two Quebec laws an English and a French version is provided: in the Ontario Municipal Act they are given in English alone. The question arises in Ontario whether the use of French in addition to or in substitution for the English version would render a form invalid. If the case of traffic signs erected by municipalities may be taken as analogous, it would appear that the use of French in addition to English is now legally acceptable in Ontario.¹⁹

19. A discussion of the language of traffic signs in Ottawa may be found in Appendix 2.1.

Further, a legal opinion has been given in one study that "there does not appear to exist any legal impediment to any municipality anywhere in Canada, no matter how small its linguistic minority, which desires to use a minority language in the conduct of its affairs".²⁰ This is to say that an Ontario municipality such as Ottawa, for instance, should find no legal impediment barring the way to the provision of bilingual service, and that, while the province can impose such a requirement on a municipality, the silence of the province in this matter does not preclude the municipality from acting on its own initiative.

Municipal charters. Language provisions may also be inserted into a city's charter. A charter is an Act of a provincial legislature granting a city certain powers which, to the extent that they coincide with areas covered by the general empowering Acts, such as the Cities and Towns Act, replace the latter. Where the charter is silent, the general Acts apply. ,

The only municipality in the Ottawa metropolitan area that reported specific linguistic provisions in its charter is Hull. Granted in 1893, Hull's charter makes several references to the English and French languages. Some of these have been since amended: the articles quoted below take into account such amendments up to the year 1965.

20. C.A. Sheppard, The Law of Language in Canada (unpublished study prepared for the F.C.B.B., 1966), p. 839.

In Hull, by-laws may, on the decision of the council, ~~be translated into English, although in case of conflict between~~ the two versions, the French text prevails (article 72). Until its amendment some ten years ago,²¹ this article had required the translation of by-laws into English. By-laws enter into effect after publication of notices in French and in English in a newspaper indicating their nature and object (article 76).

Public notices are given by means of an announcement in French and English inserted at least twice in a newspaper published within 25 miles of the City (article 401). Originally no language requirement was made in this respect.²² Publication of any documents, orders and proceedings of the council must be in accordance with article 401 (article 67). Three other articles dealing with the construction of roads, the provision of water, and the collection of taxes also call for a public notice (articles 67, 311, and 402).

Article 21 requires the publication of a notice concerning municipal elections in English and French. Articles 151d and 349 call for the publication in both languages in the Official Gazette of Quebec, of notices in respect to the City's ownership of roads and the sale of immovables for non-payment of taxes respectively.

21. Quebec Statutes, 2-3 Elizabeth II, ch. 68, article 14.

22. The 1893 provision was amended by Quebec statutes, 4-5 Elizabeth II, ch. 73, article 35.

Generally, the charter's linguistic provisions are similar to those found in the Cities and Towns Act, although some differences may be found, notably in the publication requirements for by-laws. The role of municipal charters in adapting the general acts to the special requirements of an area is, however, worthy of notice.

Other means of provincial influence. Apart from the general empowering acts and charters, there are many other ways, both formal and informal, in which provinces bring their influence to bear on municipalities. Some of these may be mentioned, but only briefly, since their linguistic implications are less obvious than the provincial controls discussed previously.

Special provincial legislation may be passed, such as the Act Respecting the City of Ottawa, 1952. This law covered a number of points peculiar to Ottawa which the city could not handle without provincial enabling legislation. These points (questions arising from decisions of the Ontario Municipal Board, and powers to pass by-laws in regard to housing standards, the Ottawa Firemen's Superannuation Fund, and the exterior design of certain buildings) clearly show the detailed matters that are subject in the first instance to provincial control.

Many municipal by-laws require the approval of the provincial government before going into effect. In Ontario, for instance, by-laws relating to public health and traffic must be submitted to the provincial Departments of Health and Highways respectively. Municipal finances are also closely supervised by the province

by means of audits, inspections and limitations on borrowing. The Minister of Municipal Affairs may call for a Commission of Enquiry into Finance if he feels this to be necessary.

Provincial influence may be of a less formal nature. Persuasion, advice, assistance, training programmes for municipal employees and the provision of such services as the Crime Laboratory of the Ontario Provincial Police, all play their part in provincial-municipal relations.

Perhaps the most fundamental of all provincial controls is the power to revise the whole structure of local government in a region. In Ontario the problems associated with growing urbanization and outworn municipal institutions have led the provincial government to pass under review several areas, including Ottawa, Kitchener-Waterloo and the Lakehead. In the case of the Ottawa area, the provincial government established a special commission of inquiry, the Ottawa Eastview and Carleton County Local Government Review (the Jones Commission), to study the matter. The Commission's final report, published in June 1965, was followed in February 1967 by a preliminary proposal from the provincial government for a metropolitan system of government that would more or less comprise the Ontario portion of the National Capital Region. This proposal would transfer certain municipal powers presently exercised individually by the City of Ottawa and 16 other Ontario municipalities to a "super-council" responsible for the whole of the Ontario sector.

To sum up this section, Ontario has no provisions requiring municipalities to use the two languages. But neither has it formally barred any municipal authority from doing so at local option. Quebec legislation, on the other hand, contains certain explicit requirements as to language usage, covering a fairly extensive range of municipal activities and situations. These too seem to constitute a minimum legal requirement, to be enlarged by any municipality which sees fit to do so.

Looking at provincial-municipal affairs from a more general point of view, we find a rather complex relationship between the two governments. Together they form a partnership, and while there can be no doubt as to who is the senior partner, it would be wrong to think of them as master and servant. For reasons of flexibility and efficiency, the municipality performs not only necessary but vital functions that the province could not easily undertake itself. In short, while a municipality outside of the provincial framework²³ would be inconceivable under the present arrangement of government in Canada, a province the size of Ontario or Quebec without municipal authorities to assist it would be equally improbable. The two need and complement each other. In the two following chapters we shall look more closely at the manner in which municipalities in the capital area operate within the framework provided by the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

23. Or, in the case of the N.W.T. and the Yukon, the framework provided by the territorial government.

IV Conclusion

The influence of the provincial governments of Ontario and Quebec in the federal capital area is very extensive. The schools to which a resident sends his children, the local government institutions which play so large a part in his daily life, the courts before which he is called to appear, all bear the imprint of one province or the other. To the citizen, the province means taxes, laws and bothersome regulations; as well, he may sometimes recognize it as a valuable source of services and advice.

. From another point of view, one may ask how the people of the federal capital area are viewed by the provincial administrations in Toronto and Quebec City. The answer to this would seem to be that they are seen and treated in the same way as the other millions of provincial inhabitants. That the area is the seat of the federal government has made no discernible impact on provincial practice. To a certain extent, the linguistic dualism of the region has required special administrative provisions, but the adjustments have been limited, practical and pragmatic, particularly in Ontario. It would appear that in the first hundred years of Confederation no significant consideration has been given by either province to the peculiar linguistic and cultural needs of the Ottawa area in its role as the capital of Canada.

APPENDIX 2.1

Bilingual Traffic Signs in Ottawa

The issue of bilingual traffic signs in the City of Ottawa dates from a council resolution in 1956 calling for bilingual signs in the largely French-speaking By Ward. The municipal administration implemented the resolution, and the matter was not raised again until December 1962. At that time, a proposal to put up a sign bearing only the word "Yield" in By Ward was called into question. This marked the start of a controversy which reached its height in the winter of 1963-1964, but which has continued on and off ever since.

The opposition to the erection of bilingual signs was twofold. The first argument, which need not detain us, was procedural: namely, that no by-law had been passed in support of the 1956 resolution and therefore no action could be based upon it. The second argument held that it was beyond the competence of the City to pass a by-law, the authority for which had not been expressly granted by the province. As the then Mayor expressed it:

The City of Ottawa, though the Capital of the Dominion of Canada... is a municipality in the Province of Ontario. It is subject, as the province's creation and creature, to the provincial authority in all matters in civil and property rights. 24

The Mayor went on to say that she could find nothing in the B.N.A. Act, the Ontario Municipal Act or any other legislation

24. Quoted in the Ottawa Citizen, December 10, 1963.

giving City council the power to make Ottawa an officially bilingual city. Until such authority was granted, no bilingual signs could be legally erected. "Informal hearsay, or word, or opinion of tolerance from any member of either the federal or the provincial authority, that 'there is nothing wrong about it' or 'nothing really to stop it'", was not such a grant of authority.

The Mayor was supported in a report prepared for council jointly by the City Solicitor and the Traffic Director. The report stated that "there does not exist any enabling legislation or other statutory authority which would empower this or any other Ontario municipality to enact a by-law declaring as lawful the erection of bilingual signs."²⁵ Only an appropriate amendment to the Highway Act or special authorization by means of a private bill could enable such signs to be legally posted in Ottawa.

The proponents of bilingual signs pointed to their use in other Ontario municipalities such as Hawkesbury, Eastview and Sturgeon Falls.²⁶ Had these signs in fact been illegal, they argued, Queen's Park would have long since compelled their removal.

In fact, those in favour of the bilingual signs were able to cite numerous provincial authorities who had expressed themselves positively on the matter. Ontario Premier Leslie Frost did so in 1961. Two years later Premier Robarts and the Minister of Transport, James Auld, could find nothing to prevent the use

25. Quoted in the Ottawa Journal, February 18, 1964.

26. Bilingual signs have also been erected by the National Capital Commission on the federal driveway system in and around Ottawa. For further details see below, chapter 5, pp. 77.

of bilingual street signs by a municipality, so long as the signs conformed to provincial requirements concerning shape, colour and size. In 1964, the Minister of Transport, Irwin Haskett, approved an Eastview by-law containing a provision for signs in the two languages. Again, the Minister of Transport told the legislature in 1966 that there would be no objections to bilingual signs.

None of these statements really answers the argument that the City has no explicit statutory power to erect bilingual signs. This argument is usually countered by the statement that there is no statutory provision forbidding the City to do so. Whether the City can or cannot do so may well have to be cleared up either by the Ontario legislature or by the courts. However, until the issue is so resolved it would seem that the power to pass by-laws in relation to the language of traffic signs erected by the municipality is in fact covered by the general empowering clause, s. 243, of the Municipal Act. This section, it will be remembered, reads in part: "every council may pass such by-laws... for the health, safety, morality and welfare of the inhabitants of the municipality in matters not specifically provided for by this Act as may be deemed expedient and are not contrary to law...".

CHAPTER SIX

The Legal Systems

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
I Introduction	6.1
II The Legal System of the Ontario Sector	6.5
III The Legal System of the Quebec Sector	6.15
IV The Legal Profession in the Ontario and Quebec Sectors	6.23
V Summary and Conclusion	6.28
Appendix 6.I Registration of Documents in Carleton County, Ontario	6.30.

I Introduction

In the Western world two different schools of thought may be distinguished as to the position of the judiciary in the governmental structure. For the one, the judiciary forms an integral part of the executive function. The dispensing of justice is seen as an administrative matter, and no special importance is attached to the position of the judiciary. The other tradition sees the legal system standing alone, independent of the other branches of government, in order that it may defend the laws of the land and the individual's rights thereunder against executive or administrative encroachment. From this point of view the judiciary assumes a symbolic role of no little importance: as the protector of rights and freedoms, it becomes intimately associated in the public mind with them. A vigorously independent judiciary, in short, is taken as a prime indicator of the health of the state.

Canada has always adhered to this latter school of thought. Accordingly, the judicial systems in the capital area should not be considered simply as an aspect of administrative arrangements, but rather are to be described separately and with considerable care. For judicial action may involve the most serious consequences for the individual citizen, including loss of property, individual liberty, and even in rare instances life itself. In such circumstances, equality of every citizen before the law and the judicial process is a matter of the highest importance.

Federal states such as Canada contain at least two levels of law-making authority, the federal and the provincial legislatures. They are consequently faced with a major difficulty in organizing their judicial systems that is unknown to unitary states. Balancing the need for uniform justice throughout the state is the need to respond to the local particularism which gave rise to the federal system in the first place. In the United States the structural problem is answered by setting up what amounts to two separate judicial systems, one for cases involving state laws, the other for cases involving federal laws or certain matters outside the competence of the state courts.

The Canadian judicial system is much closer in structure to a unified hierarchy than to the parallel systems of courts just described.¹ While there are no parallel judicial structures on the lines of those in the United States, yet the possibility of such a system is provided for in the British North America Act. Under that Act, a provincial legislature is competent to establish courts having jurisdiction within the province and to determine their powers. However, the selection, payment and dismissal of the judges of the provincial courts at or above the level of the County and Superior Courts are the responsibility of the federal authority. Furthermore, the federal Parliament can, if it chooses, establish a system of purely federal courts to administer federal laws to the exclusion of the provincial courts. This power has been exercised to a limited extent in the creation of the Exchequer Court of Canada which deals with some areas within

1. Diagrams illustrating this hierarchy as it is to be found in Ontario and Quebec may be found on pp. 6.7 and 6.18 respectively

federal legislative competence such as patents, trademarks and admiralty law. For the most part, the central authority has chosen to empower the provincial courts to exercise jurisdiction in matters of federal law, notably in the important federal field of criminal law. As a result, almost all trials of both civil and criminal actions occur in provincial courts. Appeals thereafter may be taken up through provincial appeal courts and thence to the Supreme Court of Canada, the latter being a court established and staffed exclusively by the central authority. Thus although the federal Supreme and Exchequer Courts are located physically within the capital area, the local resident will mostly be concerned with the provincial courts of first instance and appeal of Ontario or Quebec.

Since ^{The} federal capital area straddles two provinces, as we have noted earlier, it includes within its confines two provincial legal systems. The courts to the north of the Ottawa River belong to the Quebec judicial system, while to the south the Ontario system prevails. The differences between the two are considerably greater than would normally be found between two contiguous judicial systems in Canada. For one thing, the right to use either French or English before any Quebec court is written into the B.N.A. Act.² As a result the Quebec system is constitutionally and officially bilingual, while the Ontario courts, free from such a provision, are substantially unilingual as far as official recognition of language is concerned. A second difference is

2. Section 133 reads: "Neither the English or the French Language may be used by any Person... or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from... all or any of the Courts of Quebec."

that while both systems apply the same body of criminal law, on the non-criminal side the Quebec courts administer Civil Law and the Ontario courts Common Law.³ Between these two bodies of Law we find a considerable distance, especially in the field of domestic relations.

At the start we must stress the relationship of the two main judicial units in the capital area, the Judicial District of Hull and Carleton County, with their respective provincial systems. For, while districts and counties, as basic units in the two judicial hierarchies, are independent of other such units at the same level, they are very much dependent on the superior levels of the Quebec and Ontario legal systems respectively. If the judicial systems of the capital area were entirely self-contained, it would be a relatively easy matter to adapt their language practices to the requirements of the local population and the demands arising from the location of the capital in the region. This, however, is not the case: the practices of the units are determined by the system prevailing in the province as a whole. As will be shown below, this factor of dependence on the provincial systems plays a vital role in the language usage of the courts in the capital area.

In this chapter, we shall be looking at both the written and the spoken language usage in the legal institutions of the County of Carleton and the District of Hull. The data are based

3. The Civil Law of Quebec has its roots in the law of France, while Common Law developed in England. Until 1792 the former obtained throughout Canada. In that year, however, the Upper Canada Legislature adopted the Common Law system. Today Quebec is the only province using Civil Law.

on interviews and research carried out from September to December, 1965, and the report refers to the court systems of Ontario and Quebec as they existed as of January 1966.

II The Legal System of the Ontario Sector

The legal system in the Ontario part of the capital region is similar to that for any other part of the province. Within the County of Carleton, four Division Courts, a County Court and a Surrogate Court hear civil cases, while criminal cases may be brought before one of two Magistrate's Courts, a Juvenile and Family Court, the Court of General Sessions or the County Court Judge's Criminal Court. At the local sittings of the Ontario High Court of Justice, both civil and criminal cases are heard. Additional legal institutions serve the County of Carleton as a whole. There is the local office of the Supreme Court of Ontario to handle proceedings begun in the County; the county jail; the local offices of certain provincial administrative bodies; registry offices;⁴ and, of course, the legal profession itself.

Local Trial Courts. The Magistrate's Court is primarily a criminal court, hearing prosecutions under municipal by-laws, provincial statutes and regulations (e.g., the Highway Traffic Act and Regulations), and under federal statutes and regulations (mainly the Criminal Code). Cases most frequently concern minor offences, such as drinking, traffic violations and minor thefts, and are heard by the Magistrate alone without the assistance of a jury. Persons accused of more serious offences receive their

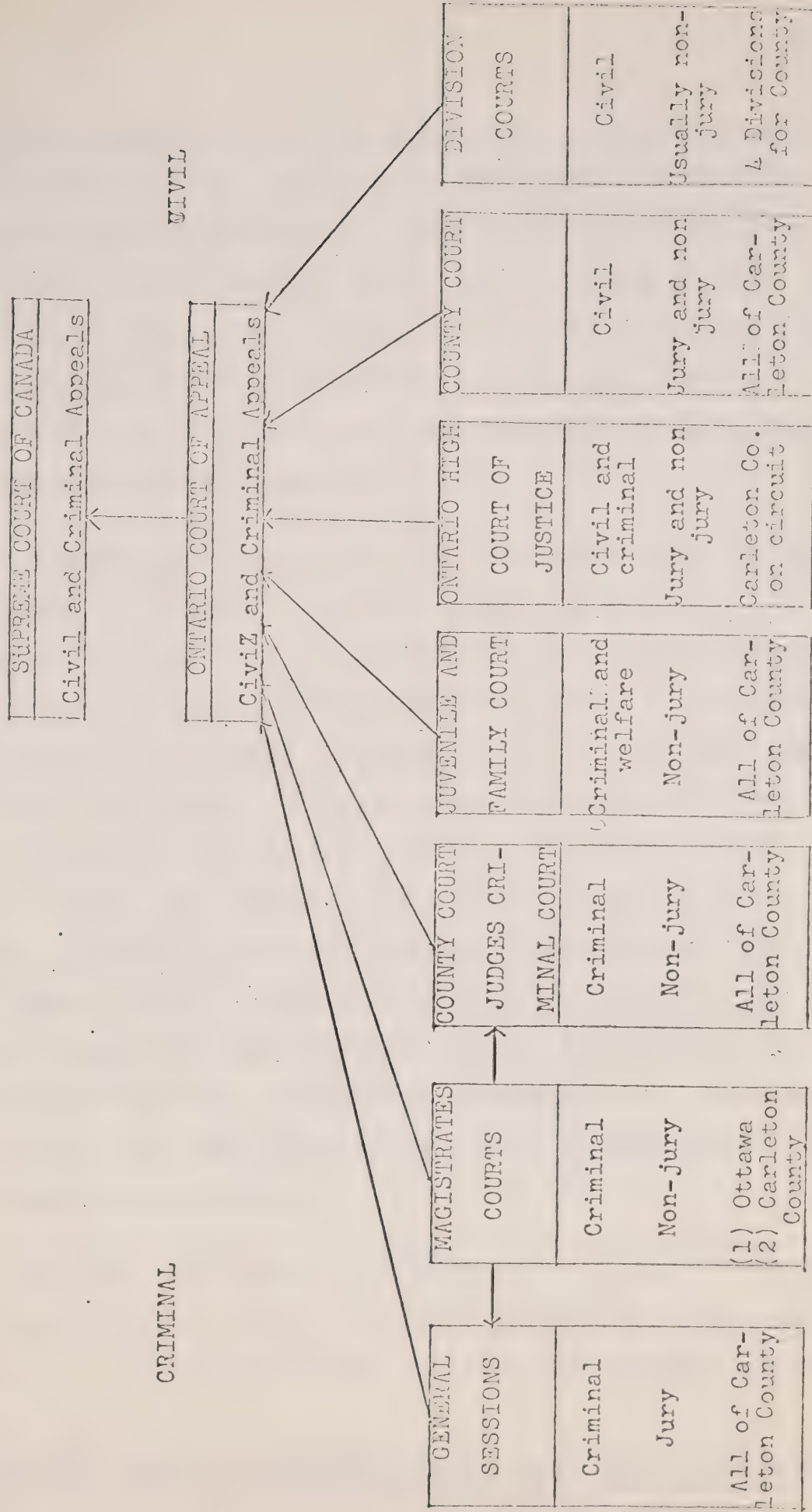
4. See Appendix 5.I.

"preliminary inquiry" before a Magistrate, and may in some instances elect to have their cases heard by the Magistrate rather than await trial by the County Court Judge or by Judge and jury.

There are two Magistrate's Courts in the area; one handles cases arising within the City of Ottawa, while the other has jurisdiction over the rest of Carleton County. When this study was in progress the former was served by three Magistrates (one of whom is bilingual) and a Deputy Magistrate. The staff of the Court, headed by a bilingual Clerk of French mother tongue, included persons capable of carrying out their duties in both English and French. The various forms used by the Court (summonses, traffic tickets, warrants, committal forms and so on) are available in English only; however, a person can carry on business with the staff in either language and can obtain oral explanations in French of the various forms. The actual hearings of the Court are conducted in English. In the event that an accused or a witness is unable to speak or to understand that language, an informal translation is provided by the police officer who acts as prosecutor in the main run of petty offences.⁵ Testimony is taken down in shorthand by the Court reporter in English only.

5. This police officer is a sergeant or a staff sergeant of the Ottawa Police Force, known as the Conducting Officer or Prosecuting Officer. He is selected specifically for this function and it is a required qualification that he be fluently bilingual. Because the conducting officer is present throughout the sittings of the Magistrate's Court, he is available to act as an interpreter at the request of defence counsel or of the prosecuting counsel if one is being employed in the particular case.

Civil and Criminal Courts, Carleton County, Ontario, at January 1, 1966 (showing appeal system)



The Magistrate's Court for the County of Carleton consists of one Magistrate only. While there are no court offices as such, the administrative staffs of the various municipalities can be called upon to provide forms, set up hearing dockets, and so on. Thus the day-to-day language practice here is closely tied to the language abilities of municipal employees. Again the various forms are in English only, and hearings are in English, with interpretation as required.

A Juvenile and Family Court has been established for the whole County of Carleton, including Ottawa and Eastview. Under its criminal jurisdiction the court hears prosecutions brought against juveniles (young persons under the age of 16) or against adults accused of offences involving juveniles. As well, the Court deals with family welfare matters: maintenance of parents, wives and children, and family disputes. The purpose of the Court -- to deal with juvenile and domestic relations in a more informal, friendly and private atmosphere than that prevailing in an ordinary court⁶ -- makes it vitally important that the necessary rapport between the Court and its clientele not be disturbed by linguistic or cultural incompatibility. As a result, more attention has been given in this Court to bilingualism than in the Magistrate's Courts.

While the two judges of the Court (at the time of the study a third position was vacant) were both of English mother tongue, one had a fair fluency in French and used this language whenever

6. Hence the Juvenile and Family Court, its offices and detention home are all geographically separate from the down-town locale of the ordinary courts, in close proximity to a large playground area and open space.

appropriate in emphasizing particular points to a French-speaking juvenile. The Court staff was headed by a bilingual court clerk of French mother tongue. His subordinates included both French-speaking and English-speaking personnel, and office business was carried out in English or French at the option of the person concerned.

Two sorts of court officers bear special mention: the two marriage counsellors and the five probation officers. One marriage counsellor spoke both French and English, the other only English. Two of the probation officers dealt with girls and three with boys. Both of the girls' officers spoke adequate French; one was Roman Catholic, the other Protestant, and girls were allocated to their officers with some regard to matching religious persuasion. While none of the three boys' officers spoke French to any great extent, at the time of the interview an effort was underway to fill a fourth opening with a French-speaking officer. Boys were not allocated to officers with any special regard to religion.⁷

The forms used in this Court, corresponding roughly with those used in the Magistrate's Court, are in English only. However, a bilingual notice to parents, advising them to attend court with their child, is sent with the summonses initiating Juvenile Court proceedings. The hearings too are, for the most part, conducted in English, but balancing this are the facts that

7. When boys or girls are sent to correctional institutions, or placed in foster homes, this is done strictly on the basis of the religious affiliation of the child concerned.

much of the Court's work is accomplished outside the trial room and that, as noted above, there does exist partial accommodation for French. When, for the purposes of the English-language transcript of the proceedings, extensive interpretation is required, it is generally provided by the Clerk of the Court himself, although persons appearing before the Court can bring their own interpreter. This is rarely done, except in cases involving persons of a tongue other than English or French.

The two other Courts with criminal jurisdiction -- the General Sessions of the Peace and the County Court Judge's Criminal Court -- will be dealt with below.

A Division Court exercises a civil jurisdiction only. Carleton County is today divided into four divisions, each of which has its Division Court. This is a small debts court, dealing with claims for sums of \$400 or less. The usual cases concern unpaid accounts, bad cheques, promissory notes, minor traffic accident claims, and other small tort claims. Trial is always by a Judge sitting alone, although litigants have the right to ask for a jury if the case involves \$50 or more.

County Court Judges serve as judges in the Division Courts. Deputy Judges may be appointed from the ranks of senior, practising lawyers to determine claims of \$200 or less. In these cases no transcript of the proceedings is kept and no appeal is possible: otherwise appeal lies to the Ontario Court of Appeal. At the time of our study it was reported that the staffs of the First and Seventh Division Courts, which are located in Ottawa, included bilingual persons, and office business was conducted in

the language preferred by the person concerned. The other two Division Courts (at Carp and Galetta) were staffed only by a Clerk of the Court, who, in both cases, spoke English only. In all four Division Courts, the hearings, the transcript, if one is kept, and the various forms of pleading, summonses, subpoenas, executions, etc., are in English only. Interpreters, if required, have to be provided by the litigant.

Judges of the County Court preside over several tribunals. On the civil side, besides the Division Courts mentioned above, they sit in the County Court, with or without a jury, for trial of actions usually involving \$3,000 or less, and in the Surrogate Court to handle matters concerning the estates of deceased persons or of infants. Their criminal jurisdiction covers the General Sessions of the Peace (trial by jury) and the County Court Judge's Criminal Court (trial by judge alone). Each judge may also act as a persona designata or arbitrator under a number of statutes to hear various applications and appeals. Appeals from most of the tribunals presided over by County Court Judges go to the Ontario Court of Appeal at Toronto.

All procedural matters relating to these tribunals are handled by a single office, the staff of which, headed by the Clerk of the County Court, did not include persons capable of carrying out their business in French when we contacted them. The practice was to call in bilingual persons from adjacent offices or to enlist the assistance of bilingual lawyers who might happen to be in the court offices when the need arose. The various forms used are in English only, as also are the hearings before the Court in both civil and criminal proceedings.

In civil cases, an interpreter, if required, has to be obtained and paid for by the litigant who wishes to use the testimony in question. However the judge, in assessing the costs of the action, may transfer part of the financial burden of having to provide an interpreter to the losing side. In criminal cases the practice varies according to which party -- the prosecution or the accused -- has employed an interpreter. When the prosecution, whose witnesses are the first ones heard in any case, has used an interpreter, the practice is to keep him available, if requested, for use by the defence. Then the interpreter will be paid out of court funds as part of the normal expenses of the case. If the accused is the first to call for an interpreter, he has to obtain and pay for his own, unless his limited financial means has necessitated his recourse to legal aid. In such a case, the interpreter, no matter which side uses him, will be paid as a court expense.

In Carleton County, only one person was employed by prosecution and defence alike with any regularity as an interpreter. His services were called for a few times each week in pre-trial oral discovery proceedings and in trials. When he was not available, French-speaking law students were sometimes employed. Interpretation cost about \$5 an hour and it appeared to be of high quality.

The High Court of Justice, the trial division of the Supreme Court of Ontario, has both a civil and a criminal jurisdiction. It can deal with minor as well as important civil cases, although in practice all but the more serious cases are filtered off into the courts lower in the hierarchy. Only the

more serious of criminal cases come before the Court, which can function either with or without a jury. Appeal is to the Court of Appeal in Toronto.

The justices of the High Court are based in Toronto, but move around the province, exercising their jurisdiction in the various "County Towns". There is no apparent linguistic pattern in the selection of the justices who come to Ottawa (the County Town of Carleton).

At the local offices of the Court, proceedings are begun and continued up to trial, procedural determinations made, and judgments enforced. At the time of our study, the Ottawa office had a staff, headed by the Local Master, capable of carrying out its duties in both French and English. It should be noted, however, that the individual litigant rarely if ever has anything to do with this office, his business being handled almost invariably by lawyers. The language used is almost always English, even by lawyers whose mother tongue is French. All pleadings, procedures, subpoenas, etc., are in English, as also are all hearings before the Court.

Both civil and criminal jury trials in the Division, County and High Courts are now rare. However, they remain available at the option of the accused in serious prosecutions and of either party in most civil actions. Only in the provinces of Quebec and Manitoba can a party to the proceedings call for the jury to be of a specific linguistic composition.⁸ Thus, an accused in

8. See below, p. 6.19.

6.17

Ontario cannot demand to be tried by a jury of his own mother tongue. On the other hand, there is no practice in Ottawa of striking French-speaking persons off the list from which jury panels are chosen. A unilingual French-speaking Canadian would, however, be discovered when the panel was first assembled in court and would be excluded or challenged on that ground.

To sum up, in all its fundamentals the Ontario legal system is an English-language structure. Although some use of French is to be found in areas like Carleton County where a fair proportion of the population is French-speaking, for the most part this usage results from the various informal arrangements that may be devised within the rather narrow limits imposed by a basically unilingual system. That these limits are very real there can be no doubt. The factor of appeal to the unilingual Court of Appeal at Toronto, for example, requires the use of English-language transcripts of original proceedings, and this in turn has influenced the language of the trial itself. Further, the pressures towards uniformity in a province that is officially and for large areas in practice unilingual have led to the use of the English language alone in legal forms and documents throughout Ontario.

The occasions on which the French language is employed are of two kinds. First, the occasional use of interpreters, though a costly and time-consuming procedure, has permitted persons with a poor command of English to play a fuller part in court proceedings. This is not a case of freedom of choice of language, but rather of what is necessary in order that the requirements of justice be met. Second, the bilingualism of court officers and staff has

enabled some use of the two languages outside the formal processes of the courtroom. While a deliberate policy of acquiring bilingual personnel is apparent for certain positions in Ottawa (such as probation officers), for the most part the presence of bilingual staff would seem to owe more to chance than to conscious decision. As a result the French-speaking citizen is able to use his own language in communicating with the court and its staff on some occasions but not on others, depending upon the official with whom he has to deal.

III The Legal System of the Quebec Sector

The structure of the legal institutions within the Quebec sector of the capital area is the same as that for any other part of the province outside Quebec City and Montreal. Some of the municipalities in the region have their own Municipal Court, while the three main Courts serving the region as a whole are the Magistrate's Court; the Social Welfare Court and the Superior Court of the Judicial District of Hull. Within the District there are local administrative tribunals, local provincial tribunal offices, a land registry office, and the members of the legal profession (avocats and notaires).

In contrast to the situation in Carleton County, the District is virtually self-contained. No visiting judges come to hear cases, so that the only contact with more senior courts is by way of appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench (Appeal Side), which sits in Montreal and Quebec City. It should be noted that, unlike the case in Ontario, no language difficulties are involved when a case is appealed in Quebec. The Judges of the Court of Queen's

Bench (Appeal Side) are fully bilingual and all proceedings in that Court -- documentation of appeals and oral arguments -- are in either language interchangeably. No translation of transcripts of testimony or of decisions is necessary, nor is it done except to the extent that lawyers occasionally may have transcripts translated for the purpose of their own understanding.

Local Trial Courts. Four municipalities in the Full District: Hull, Aylmer, Gatineau and Pointe-Catineau, have their own Municipal Court, presided over by a judge who also is engaged in the practice of law. The Court tries prosecutions for infractions of municipal by-laws and cases relating to municipal contracts and taxes.

The Magistrate's Court has both a criminal and a civil jurisdiction, the former corresponding roughly to the combined jurisdictions of the Ontario Magistrate's Court and the County Court Judges, and the latter approximating to that of the Ontario Division Courts. Thus, on the criminal side, the Court hears prosecutions under provincial and federal statutes for such offences as thefts, drinking and traffic violations. The Court also conducts preliminary inquiries, and may try some serious offences if the accused so elects. Under its civil jurisdiction the Court hears claims in contract and delict to \$500,⁹ municipal and school tax claims, church assessments, disputes between landlord and tenant, and so on.

9. Under Quebec's new Code of Civil Procedure, which went into effect on September 1, 1966, Magistrate's Court was replaced by a Provincial Court with powers to hear actions for amounts up to \$999.

At the time of our study, the Hull District Magistrate's Court was staffed by three judges, all of whom were of French mother tongue and bilingual. The staff of the Court, headed by the Greffier, was composed only of persons of French mother tongue. It is policy, however, that service be provided in English as well as French. In practice most of the business of the Court office is conducted in French, although English can be and is used to some extent.

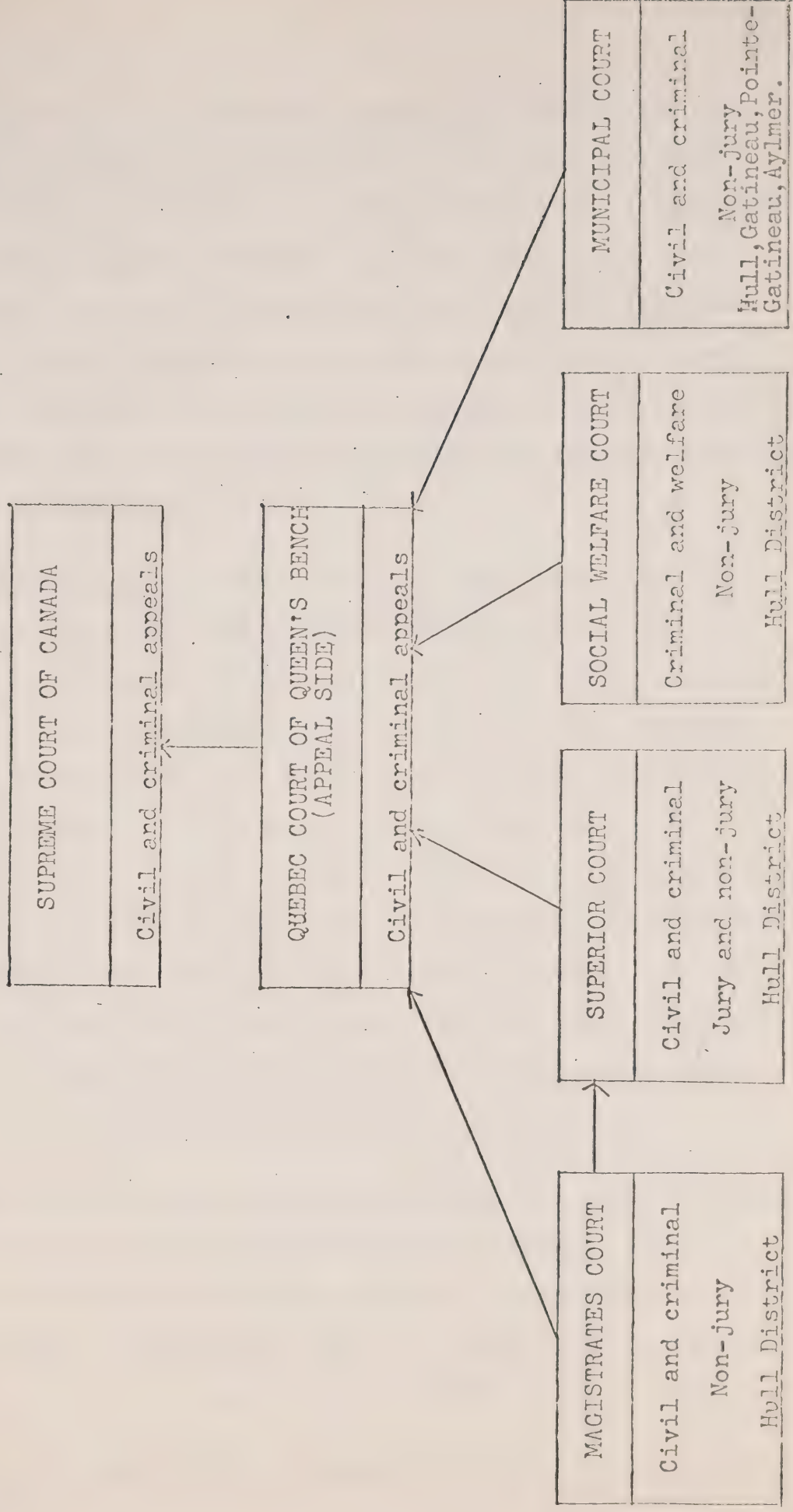
Criminal actions are prosecuted by a Procureur de la Couronne; there is no prosecuting or conducting police officer as in the Ottawa Magistrate's Court. In civil actions it is usual for both sides to be represented by a lawyer.

A Social Welfare Court was established quite recently for Hull, Labelle and Pontiac Districts. It tries prosecutions against juveniles (in Quebec, persons under 18 are juveniles) and against adults accused of offences involving juveniles. The Court admits juveniles to youth protection schools, determines adoption applications, and acts as a moderator or adviser in family disputes.

As in the case of the Carleton County Juvenile and Family Court, this Court is intended to be more informal, more private, and more expeditious than the ordinary Courts. It was reported that representation by lawyers is less frequent than in the other Hull Courts. The forms used are available in either French or English, and are completed according to the known language of the accused person or the parties. Proceedings very rarely involve English-speaking persons. When the accused is unable to understand the

Diagram 6.2

Courts of the Judicial District of Hull, Quebec, at January 1, 1966 (showing appeal system)



testimony given, it is informally passed on to him in his own language by the Judge or by the Clerk of the Court or by the Crown Prosecutor. Juveniles are spoken to in either language by the Judge, who is fully bilingual. At the time of the study there were six probation officers who serve the same important function as in the Carleton County Juvenile and Family Court. All six were of French mother tongue, bilingual and Roman Catholic, so that there was no allocation of juveniles to officers according to language or religion.

The Superior Court hears suits that are beyond the competence of the other Quebec courts of first instance. The Court itself is composed of 72 justices for the entire province who exercise their functions in the various judicial districts to which they are appointed. Three justices, with residence in Hull, are responsible in rotation for the Districts of Hull, Labelle and Pontiac. Under its civil jurisdiction the Court tries actions involving \$500 or more, and is, therefore, the equivalent of the Ontario County Court and High Court of Justice. On the criminal side, the Court, like the Ontario High Court of Justice, hears certain appeals from Magistrate's Court and tries those offences beyond the jurisdiction of Magistrate's Court.

A jury trial is available in both civil and criminal cases, although in practice it is only used in the latter. The linguistic composition of the jury (wholly French-speaking, wholly English-speaking, or composed equally of each) is at the discretion of the accused, and the proportion of wholly French to wholly

English juries in Hull varies widely from year to year. Mixed juries are very rarely requested.¹⁰

Due to the importance of the matters involved and the technicality of the Court procedure, lawyers are almost invariably employed. The Superior Court staff, headed by the Prothonotary, included at the time of the study only persons of French mother tongue, although it is policy and practice to provide service in English.

Language Usage. The linguistic practices of the Carleton County Courts tend to vary from Court to Court. In the Hull District, by contrast, they are in many respects uniform. This enables us to describe in general terms the language of forms and trials.

All forms used in criminal proceedings were reported to be available in either French or English. Formally, ^{the} complainant or prosecutor is free to select either language for the initial documents -- the information, summons or warrant. However, he is expected to employ the language of the prospective accused. To some extent this criterion also applies to the summons in a non-criminal action. The pleadings in these cases can also be in either language, and it is possible for them to vary in language as between the plaintiff and defendant. In the Hull District, however, only a small proportion of the pleading is done in English. Documents relating to land, etc., are accepted for registration in both French and English.

10. The whole question of the language of juries in Canada is examined in some detail by C.A. Sheppard, The Law of Languages in Canada (Report prepared for the N.C. . .), pp. 696-732.

Either French or English can be used in all aspects of Court proceedings. In actual trials this means that witnesses can testify in either language, and their testimony enters the transcript in the language in which it is given. Witnesses are examined and cross-examined in their own language. Oral argument can be in either language, as also can the Judge's comments and decision.

The need for translation is met in different ways in different courts. When in the Social Welfare Court, translation becomes necessary, all requirements are met by the Court officials themselves. In criminal proceedings in the Magistrate's and Superior Courts, if the accused is represented by a lawyer, it is presumed that the lawyer is bilingual and that he will interpret as required to his client. However, in the Superior Court, even if the accused is represented, nevertheless if he insists on translation an interpreter is provided for him and paid by the Court.¹¹ In either the Magistrate's or Superior Courts, if the accused is unrepresented an interpreter may be ordered if the accused indicates that he cannot understand the language of the proceedings. This rarely happens. It is said to be a fairly common occurrence that an unrepresented accused in Magistrate's Court, rather than being provided with an interpreter, is given the gist of what witnesses have said against him by the Judge and is then called on to question the witnesses through the Judge by suggesting to the Judge the appropriate questions to be asked.

11. In Hull, two retired, highly qualified gentlemen are regularly employed as interpreters in all types of court proceedings. In Campbell's Bay the Prothonotary and in Mont Laurier the court reporter act as interpreters (and receive the fee as such in addition to their regular salaries)

In civil cases, in both the Magistrate's and Superior Courts, the two sides are almost invariably represented by counsel. Then both lawyers are presumed to be bilingual, and it appears to be a matter of pride in lawyers of both language groups to be able to carry on in either language as required. However, it occasionally happens that a unilingual lawyer from outside Hull comes in to take a case and indicates formally that he would prefer to plead in one language only. In these rare instances the Court provides an interpreter and delays the steps in the trial to permit translation. The interpreter so provided is obtained by the Court but his fee becomes an item which may, in the Judge's discretion, be allowed as a taxed cost against the losing side. The general practice, however, is to presume that all lawyers are bilingual and to depend on their facility to ensure that their clients receive an adequate understanding of the proceedings and that a witness is examined in his own language.

Lawyers' oral arguments to the Court may be in either language and each is heard frequently. It is reported that to some extent English-speaking lawyers try to use French in their arguments because they feel that thereby they can convey their meaning more clearly to the Court. Also, both English-speaking and French-speaking lawyers have been known to use their second language in order to enable a client to follow and appreciate their argument. The position of lawyers in Hull is important, for when a person is not represented, some linguistic difficulty may arise. For example, a more detailed study of the reactions of the unrepresented accused in the Magistrate's and Social Welfare Courts might reveal some disadvantages for the unilingual person. However in this connection two further points should be

stated. First, these lower level courts deal with matters of lesser gravity in their potential consequences to the individual, and second, those persons most in need of translation facilities, those who speak English only, in most instances make a point of securing legal representation, perhaps in specific recognition of the linguistic factor. These cases apart, it is fair to say by way of conclusion that the overall impression given by the Hull District Courts is one of general and genuine bilingualism.

IV The Legal Profession in the Ontario and Quebec Sectors

In any legal system the lawyer acts as a buffer between the individual and the system. In the capital area, as we saw above, he may also be required to act, quite literally, as an interpreter. Furthermore, the relationship between lawyer and client demands the utmost in confidence and trust. Common language and, to a certain extent, cultural inheritance are no doubt important in this relationship, although they should not be over-rated. In a large area of contact between solicitor and client, concerning, for example, commercial matters and real estate, the relationship can be and is based purely on business considerations. Here the client chooses his legal adviser on the grounds of reputation, previous references and the specialization of the lawyer; a shared language and culture may be of lesser importance. Still, the ability of the legal profession to remove linguistic obstacles and explain the intricacies of a legal system unfamiliar to their clients is clearly a point worth consideration in the capital area. We turn first to the Ontario sector.

Ontario. A study of Wharton's Canadian Legal Directory for 1964 indicates that 289 members of the legal profession are located within Carleton County. This figure includes both government and academic lawyers. Nine of the total group are listed as qualified to practice in Quebec as well as Ontario. An analysis of names suggests that nearly four-fifths of the lawyers are of British origin. More precisely, 225 (or 77.9 per cent) appear to be of British origin, 36 (or 12.5 per cent) to be of French origin and 28 (or 9.7 per cent) to be of other origins. It is interesting to compare these figures with those for the ethnic origin of the general population of Carleton County in 1961: at that time those of British, French and other origins accounted for 54.9, 26.9 and 18.2 per cent of the population respectively.¹²

Table 6.1 shows the structure of legal firms in Carleton County from the standpoint of apparent ethnic origin of members of the legal profession. It will be seen that most lawyers, whatever their origin, practice in firms of two or more partners or associates. The largest firms, however, include very few persons with French names: of the 92 lawyers working in firms with six or more partners, only two seem to be of French origin. As it is generally recognized that the largest firms are best equipped to deal with the more important matters, the relative absence of French Canadians from these firms may dissuade the French-speaking population from seeking the more specialized assistance offered by them.

12. Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 92-545, Bulletin 1.2-5.

Table 6.1

Carleton County legal profession,
ethnic origin and firm structure, 1964

Size of firm	Firm structure			Number of firms	Distribution of legal profession by firm structure		
	French	British	Other		French	British	Other
22	1	20	1	1	1	20	1
11	0	6	5	1	0	6	5
10	0	10	0	1	0	10	0
9	0	9	0	1	0	9	0
8	1	7	0	1	1	7	0
	0	2	6	1	0	2	6
6	0	6	0	3	0	18	0
	0	5	1	1	0	5	1
5	0	5	0	2	0	10	0
	1	4	0	2	2	8	0
	4	0	1	1	4	0	1
	5	0	0	1	5	0	0
4	0	4	0	5	0	20	0
	1	3	0	1	1	3	0
	0	2	2	1	0	2	2
3	0	3	0	10	0	30	0
	0	2	1	1	0	2	1
	2	1	0	1	2	1	0
	0	1	2	1	0	1	2
	3	0	0	1	3	0	0
2	0	2	0	16	0	32	0
	2	0	0	3	6	0	0
	1	1	0	3	3	3	0
	0	0	2	1	0	0	2
	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
Individuals practicing alone					8	35	6
Total					36	225	28

Source: name analysis of listings in J.H. Wharton (ed.),
Canadian Legal Directory, 1964.

Precise linguistic data for members of the Carleton County legal profession are not available.¹³ However, it can be assumed that all those who speak French can also function well in English, since a lawyer who spoke only French could not survive in the mainly English-speaking legal system of Ontario. Furthermore, an essential qualification for admission to practice in Ontario is the completion of the teaching portion of the Bar Admission Course of the Law Society of Upper Canada. This is taught at Toronto in English only.

Quebec. Wharton's Canadian Legal Directory, 1964, lists 58 lawyers within the Districts of Hull, Pontiac and Labelle. Of these, 41 are located in Hull itself. Seven individuals are noted as being qualified to practice in Ontario as well as Quebec. Roughly three-quarters of the total group appear from their names to be of French origin (43 out of 58, or 74.1 per cent). Those of British and other origins number 14 and one respectively, or 24.1 and 1.7 per cent. In contrast, the general population of Hull, Pontiac and Labelle counties was divided by ethnic origin in 1961 as follows: 81.3 per cent of French origin, 15.2 per cent of British origin and 3.5 per cent of other origins.¹⁴

Table 6.2 presents an analysis of the firm structure and presumed ethnic origin of the legal profession in the Hull, Labelle and Pontiac Districts. No large firms have been established: practice in Hull is evidently characterized by two-man and individual firms.

13. One can only make approximate inferences from the analysis of names and origins, and some degree of error must be assumed.

14. Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 92-545, Bulletin 1.2-5.

Table 6.2

The legal profession in Hull, Pontiac and Labelle Districts,
ethnic origin and firm structure, 1964

Size of firm	Firm structure			Number of firms	Distribution of legal profession by firm structure		
	French	British	Other		French	British	Other
4	1	3	0	1	1	3	0
2	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
	2	0	0	4	8	0	0
	0	2	0	2	0	4	0
Individuals practicing alone					33	6	1
Total					43	14	1

Source: name analysis of listings in J.H. Wharton (ed.),
Canadian Legal Directory, 1964.

There are apparently no unilingual lawyers practising in the Hull area, although there is a wide range of fluency ^{in the two languages}. It is said that a unilingual person of either language would have difficulty in surviving in practice. This would be especially true of a unilingual English-speaking person, despite the fact that all non-trial work can be done in English with no disadvantage whatever.

The qualifications for admission to practice in the Province of Quebec consist of university study and a bar admission examination which may be written in either French or English. So long as McGill's law faculty continues to grant recognised law degrees, an English-speaking person should be able to enter practice in Hull.

Summary and Conclusion

From the preceding discussion we may draw out the following main points. They refer, of course, to the situation as it existed at the time of our enquiry.

1. In the court offices situated in the Hull District, service can be obtained in both languages. In Carleton County, service is offered in English only by the offices of two of the four Division Courts and of the County Court. The remaining offices can give service in both English and French.
2. In the Hull District, legal forms are available and documents are accepted as valid by the courts in either language. In Carleton County, only English forms are used.
3. In the course of judicial proceedings in Hull, that is in the giving of testimony by witnesses and their examination and cross-examination, in the oral arguments of the lawyers, and in the judge's comments and decision, both languages can be used almost interchangeably. In Carleton County, French is rarely employed in the courts.
4. Interpretation is provided on occasion by both systems, but in neither is this done in a thorough-going or fully satisfactory manner.
5. The Quebec legal system attaches greater importance to the language of jurors than does the Ontario one by permitting the determination of the linguistic composition of juries.

6. On both sides of the Ottawa river, the role played by bilingual lawyers in providing the linguistic link between the court and their clients is of great importance to the functioning of the two legal systems.
7. There are lawyers of French and British origin in both sectors of the capital area, although in each case there are proportionately more lawyers than population of British origin.
8. Factors extraneous to the immediate capital area have largely shaped the language usage of courts within it. Thus, the question of appeal to the predominantly English-speaking appeal courts in Ontario has played a major role in requiring the use of English in the courts of first instance, while, in Quebec, section 133 of the B.N.A. Act has obliged both the local and the appeal courts to be bilingual.
9. In sum, there are striking differences in linguistic practice between the two legal systems, with the Quebec courts making a far more liberal provision for the use of both official languages than do the Ontario ones.

Appendix 6.I

Registration of Documents in Carleton County,
Ontario1. Real Property

Two systems of land registration are employed in the County of Carleton. Parts of the County are under the "Land Titles" system and parts under the "Registry Office" system. The former is administered by the staff of the Supreme Court of Ontario office, which includes persons capable of carrying out their duties in both English and French. The "Registry Office" system is administered in two further offices, one for land inside the City of Ottawa and the other for land outside the City. Both of these offices employ persons who can conduct business in French. However, under either system, it is usually not the general public but lawyers that have to deal with an office, and their communications are almost invariably in English.

The forms used at present by the two systems are in English only. As evidence, in part, of title to particular parcels of land, these documents may have to be referred to by persons of either language in the future. However, they are used by lawyers almost exclusively, and as indicated earlier it is at present impossible for a lawyer to qualify for the bar in Ontario without being able to read English with some fluency.

2. Personal Property

The office of the County Court, which had, at the date of our inquiry, no French-speaking staff, handles the registration of bills of sale, conditional sale agreements, and chattel

mortgages. These documents may be in French, but the staff make a practice of asking for a brief written explanation in English of the document to be filed at the time of registration. This facilitates the searching of title to personal property and transfers of registrations between counties. If it becomes necessary to enforce these various contracts translations must be filed for the use of the court.

The terminology of these documents is highly technical and is probably incomprehensible to most laymen. Even when the document is in the language of the person most closely affected (the conditional purchaser or the chattel mortgagor) the only safe course is to obtain a full explanation of the purport of the document from a lawyer.

Security on personal property involves problems similar to those surrounding real estate transactions. The immediate parties may be, for example, the conditional vendor and purchaser, or the chattel mortgagor and mortgagee. Nevertheless third parties may be seriously affected to their detriment, as when the conditional purchaser or mortgagor in possession attempts to sell the chattel as though he had complete title to it. The second purchaser must be protected, as must the conditional vendor or mortgagee. This is the main reason for requiring registration of the document evidencing the transaction. The protection to third parties may require that they have as much knowledge of the purport of the document as the conditional purchaser or mortgagor and hence their language must be considered.

Registration of the documents is done in the county where the purchaser or mortgagor resides or where the property is located. Hence provisions for transfer of the registration to other counties are essential and the language of the staff of the County Court office of the receiving county must also be taken into account.

